

# Socialist Fight

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On 18 July a protest in Mendiola, Manila City in the Philippines joined the global campaign to stop the air strikes in Gaza and correctly identified both criminal regimes.



Made in the USA: From Ukraine to Gaza to Iraq via Libya, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc, the USA via its allies like Israel, its proxy Jihadists armies and its fascist-infested Junta in Kiev pursues its coups and wars for regime change to enhance the investment opportunities of its finance houses and transnational corporations and reverse their falling profit rates. These unending wars have killed millions since WWII and WWII is looming. It and its allied imperialisms, the EU, Japan, etc. are the central enemies of all humanity.

Unity is strength, L'union fait la force, Es la unidad fuerza, Η ενότητα είναι δύναμη, اتحاد قدرت است, đoàn kết là sức mạnh, Jedność jest siła, ykseys on kesto, ຍຸຕິທຸນ. Midnimo iyo waa awood, hundeb ydy chryfder, Einheit ist Stärke, एकता शक्ति है, единство наша сила, vienybės jėga, bashkimi ben fuqine, אחדות היא כח, unità è la resistenza, 団結は力だ, A união faz a força, eining er styrkur, De eenheid is de sterkte, الوحدة هو القوة, Ní neart go chur le céile, pagkakaisa ay kalakasan, jednota je síla, 일성은 이다 힘힘, Workers of the World Unite!

# Socialist Fight Where We Stand

Socialist Fight is a member of the Liaison Committee for the Fourth International with the Liga Comunista of Brazil and the Tendencia Militante Bolchevique of Argentina.

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## 1.WE STAND WITH KARL MARX:

'The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. The struggle for the emancipation of the working class means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule' (The International Workingmen's Association 1864, General Rules).

2.The capitalist state consists, in the last analysis, of ruling-class laws within a judicial system and detention centres overseen by the armed bodies of police/army who are under the direction and are controlled in acts of defence of capitalist property rights against the interests of the majority of civil society. The working class must overthrow the capitalist state and replace it with a workers' state based on democratic soviets/workers' councils to suppress the inevitable counter-revolution of private capitalist profit against planned production for the satisfaction of socialised human need.

3.We recognise the necessity for revolutionaries to carry out serious ideological and political struggle as direct participants in the trade unions (always) and in the mass reformist social democratic bourgeois workers' parties despite their pro-capitalist leaderships when conditions are favourable. Because we see the trade union bureaucracy and their allies in the Labour party leadership as the most fundamental obstacle to the struggle for power of the working class, outside of the state forces and their direct agencies themselves, we must fight and defeat and replace them with a revolutionary leadership by mobilising the base against the pro-capitalist bureaucratic misleaders to open the way forward for the struggle for workers' power.

4.We are fully in support of all mass mobilisations against the onslaught of this reactionary Con-Lib Dem coalition. However, whilst participating in this struggle we will oppose all policies

which subordinate the working class to the political agenda of the petty-bourgeois reformist leaders of the Labour party and trade unions

5. We support the fight of all the specially oppressed; Black and Asian, women, lesbians and gay men, bisexuals and transgender people against discrimination in all its forms and their right to organise separately in that fight in society as a whole. In particular we defend their right to caucus inside trade unions and in working class political parties.

6.We recognise that class society, and capitalism as the last form of class society, is by its nature patriarchal. In that sense the oppression of women is different from all other forms of oppression and discrimination. Because this social oppression is inextricably tied to private property, and its inheritance, to achieve full sexual, social and economic freedom and equality for all we need to overthrow class society itself.

7.We fight racism and fascism. We support the right of people to fight back against racist and fascist attacks by any means necessary. Self-defence is no offence! We support 'No Platform' for all fascists but never call on the capitalist state to ban fascist marches or parties; these laws would inevitably primarily be used against workers' organisations, as history has shown.

8.We oppose all immigration controls. International finance capital roams the planet in search of profit and Imperialist governments disrupts the lives of workers and cause the collapse of whole nations with their direct intervention in the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan and their proxy wars in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, etc. Workers have the right to sell their labour internationally wherever they get the best price. Only union membership and pay rates can counter employers who seek to exploit immigrant workers as cheap labour to undermine the gains of past struggles.



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- We are against the UK and Western governments' backing for the far-right regime in Kiev.
- We oppose the planned NATO exercises in Ukraine.
- We demand that the killers of 42 people at the House of Trade Unions in Odessa on May 2nd be brought to justice.
- We are against attacks on democratic rights and the repression of left-wing organisations.

We support the antifascist resistance in Ukraine.

Blog: <http://ukraineantifascistsolidarity.word...>, Twitter: [Ukraine Antifa](#) @UkraineAntifa,

Facebook: [Solidarity with Antifascist Resistance in Ukraine](#)

# Socialist Fight Editorial: National Chauvinism, war hysteria and new forces

The second half of 2014 promises to be a momentous period in the development of the global economic, military and political crisis of global Imperialism. The fallout from the US subprime mortgage and Lehman collapse of 2007/8 is still working itself out in wars and in the consciousness of the middle classes and working class globally. The debt crisis revealed by the collapse has not gone away but has only been temporarily overcome by extending more credit preparing a bigger explosion; the burden of fictitious capital is the driving force of revolution and counter-revolution today. Hence the need for global finance capital to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class in the metropolitan countries and rob the semi-colonial world. Today Iran, Russia and China are the prime targets for attack and breakup. Austerity without end and mass slaughter are now the name of the game in every country with Greece, Ukraine and Gaza showing the future of us all.

## Increasing portents of WWII

Form the attack on Libya in early 2011 by the USA and NATO via its proxy-army in Benghazi to the war against Syria and now Ukraine, Iraq and Gaza increasing portents of WWII are emerging. The USA is evermore bellicose in the Ukraine, dragging far more cautious continental members of the EU in its wake. The shooting down of the Boeing 777 flight MH17 Malaysian aircraft on 17 July coincided with the invasion of Gaza by Israeli ground troops. This follows hotly on the heels of the spectacular advance by the ISIS jihadist militia into Iraq in early to mid June. This group are a mercenary army of US imperialism, trained by Israel and funded by the Saudis.

The sell-by date of puppet dictators is very short now. Iraq's Nouri al-Maliki was only installed by the USA in 2006 but already they must get rid of him because of his allegiance with Iran, Saddam Hussein likewise installed by the CIA lasted from 1979 to 2003. Assad, Bin Laden, Yanukovich, Gaddafi and many others were at also at some point agents of imperialist policy and were safe as long as they posed no threat to Israel or the US. But now the desperate search for increased investment opportunities to combat the falling profit rates of US transnationals finance houses and corporations meant they had to go.

The enormous debt burdens of corporations consist of fictitious capital which can only be redeemed by increasing the super-exploitations of the working class worldwide, we insist. Hence the ever-increasing moves towards dictatorship under the guise of Islamophobia and the war on terror etc. So it appears that the rhythms of the 21st century and the dynamic life of puppets are also really short, as our statement on Iraq on p. 26 observes.

But, some might argue, these are far away events and we can best get on with our own war against austerity if we are practical leftists and not worry too much about all this. We say that without a hope for overthrowing capitalism itself on a global scale we are left with the hope that foreign wars will glean more of the booty of Empire for the British working class. This narrow, nationalistic syndicalist outlook is the basis for the British jobs for British worker outlook, it is the basis for the rise of the national chauvinist UKIP and it is the basis eventually for the rise of fascism.

Contrary to the left reformist Owen Jones, there cannot be a "UKIP of the Left", there is no populist leftist version of anti-immigrant sentiments that can be turned to the advantage of the working class; *No to EU, Yes to Democracy* promoted by the Communist party of Britain/Morning Star, the RMT, the Socialist Party

and its National Shop Stewards Network is a complete dead end and only assists the right wing with its shamefaced chauvinism.

## Trotskyists are internationalists

Trotskyists are internationalists not only because we care deeply about the fate of the victim of the Maidan fascists or the ISIS jihadists or the Zionist mass murders. We are internationalists because we know you cannot fight the domestic class struggle effectively without a global perspective of world revolution. Our *Eight Indices of US-led World Imperialism* article on p. 21 spells out the global reach of US-led Imperialism and the deadly threat it posed for every human being on the planet; it is the main enemy of all humanity.

Left groups that call themselves Trotskyists have gradually abandoned this perspective over the years but it still comes as a shock to see that quantity transformed into the quality of deep reaction amongst the vast majority that claim the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism by identifying Russia and the Southeast Ukraine as the main enemy in what could become the Sarajevo of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The article on p. 13, *American SWP supports US imperialism* tells the sorry tale of the degeneration of the US SWP, once the pride of the world Trotskyist movement, personally tutored by Trotsky himself in its great inspiring militant trade union work in the Teamsters union in the Twin Cities in the 1930s and in defence of the Soviet Union against the Shachtmanite backsliders. And it is a tale that applies to so many others in slightly different but in no less degenerate ways. We have named them and shamed them in past issues of Socialist Fight like issue No 7, p. 23 in articles like *Those that Howled along with the Wolves* berating those that sought the overthrow of Gaddafi in lockstep with the USA and NATO. [1] It is enough to note the Rogues' Gallery that support Chris Ford's Ukraine Socialist Solidarity campaign, since joined by the Alliance for Workers Liberty (never found wanting when John Bull or Uncle Sam needed a "Trotskyist" defender). The supporters of this national chauvinist endeavour are listed as: the Labour Representation Committee, Revolutionary Socialism 21, A World To Win, and Socialist Resistance (Fourth International). [2]

## New forces emerge

Today the crisis in Ukraine has brought some surprising developments; some of those named in SF No. 7 have reversed their position on Libya and Syria over Ukraine and, implicitly at least, begun to fight US-led Imperialism as the main enemy, although they still have the "conflict of two imperialism" fence-sitting politics. It is



**Duncan Chapel** Let's get one thing straight: There is no ban on the Ukrainian CP, remember: a cabinet member has proposed it, and that last time that was attempted in Ukraine the constitutional court overturned it. I am against bans on political parties, of course, but let's not think that the movement against the CP is a move against communism: it's a reaction against the CP's support for the Russian ultranationalists' insurrection against the government. I think most insurrectionary parties can expect to be banned, even in a workers' state.  
3 min · Me gusta



**Jorge Martin** here we have it, Duncan Chapel in black and white justifying the arguments of the Kiev government for banning the CP, I am going to take a screenshot of this before you "correct" it  
1 min · Me gusta



**Duncan Chapel** I'm against the ban, any more than I am in favour of road traffic accidents, but if you cross a busy motorway with your eyes closed you're probably going to be hit by a car.  
Hace un momento · Me gusta

*Socialist Resistance's (USFI) Duncan Chapel endorses the banning of the Communist party in Ukraine by the fascist-infested Kiev government*



heartening to see this and to see new forces also coming on the scene to take up the cudgels on behalf of the working class and oppressed of the planet.

Here we see one of the vilest charges laid against the defenders of NovoRússia; we and they are Stalinists or capitulators to Stalinism. Gerry Downing was victim of this in the WRP Workers Press when they insisted that “Stalinism is the most counter-revolutionary force on the planet” back in 1987. No, he insisted then, as part of a tiny minority, Imperialism is the font of all counter-revolution, Stalinism was merely their alienated representative in the deformed and degenerated workers’ state. He still holds that view.

Because of necessity the Ukraine Communist Party has had to fight the fascists in Ukraine because they want to kill everything associated with the working class and the Russian Revolution. And the UCP are a workers’ party, a bourgeois workers’, but nevertheless part of the workers’ movement like Lenin characterised the British Labour party in 1920 and Trotsky did until his assassination in 1940.

### The Maidan fascists wave the flags of Nazism and carry the portrait of Stepan Bandera

So the Statues of Lenin tumble in the West but the Eastern Ukrainians defend them with their red flags flying and their hammer and sickle emblems. The Maidan fascists wave the flags of Nazism and carry the portrait of Stepan Bandera. In April 2013 it was reported that “Unidentified people have destroyed a monument to Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera and his associates in the west Ukrainian city of Rudki, in the Lvov region (north west Ukraine). In the past month, five monuments to Stepan Bandera and other nationalist leaders have been destroyed in the Lvov region”. Our footnote to Eddie Dempsey’s account of the London Ukraine events of 9 July on p. 16 tells us why:

When the Germans invaded the USSR in June 1941 and captured the East Galician capital of Lvov, Bandera’s lieutenants issued a declaration of independence in his name. They further promised to work closely with Hitler and then helped to launch a pogrom that killed four thousand Lvov Jews in a few days, using weapons ranging from guns to metal poles. “We will lay your heads at Hitler’s feet,” a Banderist pamphlet proclaimed to Ukrainian Jews. But whatever their disappointment with the Germans, the Banderists never disagreed with their Jewish policy in Ukraine, which eventually killed over 1.5 million Ukrainian Jews.” [3]

**Andrey Ischenko (Андрей Ищенко), member of the Left Opposition, Ukraine (USFI) on 24 July on Facebook: “by banning the corrupt Communist Party of Ukraine, the ultras are clearing the political way for a new radical left”**

**This is some reactionary organisation!!!” He is quizzed on Facebook by Arash Azizi if he is really serious? He is!**

**Arash Azizi You can’t be serious!**

**Arash Azizi “new radical left” is to be built by a right-wing government banning the traditional left party?**

**Андрей Ищенко Communist Party of Ukraine is not a left-wing party. This is a right-populist political party oriented to Russia.**

**Андрей Ищенко Communist Party of Ukraine up to the recent events was in coalition with the parties of big capital and officially supported neoliberal policies of the Azarov government.**

<https://www.facebook.com/andisodes/posts/749275798444451?ref=nf>



*The pro-Maidan Ukraine Socialist Solidarity rallies for US and EU imperialism against the working class of Southeast Ukraine who face the brunt of the IMF/EU imposed austerity.*

That footnote gives us more of the reasons for the split in the country: “On January 22, 2010 Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko honoured Stepan Bandera by posthumously bestowing on him the state honour, “Hero of Ukraine”. President Viktor Yanukovich annulled the decree in January 2011 after a long legal and political struggle. So the corrupt oligarch Yushchenko, propelled to power by the 2004 Orange Revolution, favours Bandera’s heritage but the equally corrupt oligarch Yanukovich rejected this and was tolerant of Lenin’s statues. Not much to choose between the two morally except when it came to their

supporters, one side has developed a mass fascist movement from the Euro-Maidan and the other side contains the organised working class, including the Stalinist party with its corrupt leadership, which is part of the workers’ movement with a working class membership and following, still looking to the Russian Revolution in some distorted way as an inspiration. It is to these latter we pitch all our efforts and support, therein lies the prospect of revolution.

### The bogus “Left Opposition”

The very silly alchemic notion of “de-Nazifying” the Kiev government that the “Left Opposition” in Kiev propose is only a cover for the exasperated petty bourgeoisie as they capitulate to Imperialism and to fascism itself.

And whilst the pro-Maidan forces look to the Left Opposition for the future Brighid Ó Duinn on p. 17 demolished their pretensions to leftism we look to Borotba as the genuine forces of the struggle, albeit with political differences and unresolved issues not fought out yet. But we are unhesitatingly with them in the Anti Imperialist United Front.

John McDonnell MP, Chair of the LRC and prominent left MP has fronted Chris Ford’s Ukraine Socialist Solidarity campaign, hosting a meeting in the House of Commons on 9 July as recorded on pp. 14-15. The USSC has never condemned the killing of 500-plus civilians in NovoRússia, the driving from their homes of more than 100,000 refugees and the assassinations and torture meted out to their opponents by the fascists who now dominate the National Guard in the Ukraine army.

Disgracefully we cannot even get an agreement from LRC leading members to send a letter of condolences to the family and comrades of Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Kovshun, the secretary of the primary party organization of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the village of Glinky who was tortured and murdered by fascists at a checkpoint near the village Luzhky on 23 July.

It is clear that although the Imperialist attack on Libya at the start of 2011 brought about a split in the far left the national chauvinism over Ukraine represents a far more serious capitulation to war hysteria by the deranged petty bourgeoisie in the above organisations. But a new, more class conscious and determined fighting layer is beginning to emerge in Britain and internationally to face up to their responsibilities on behalf of the class internationally. In them we place our faith for the building of a new revolutionary international to win the world revolution.

### Notes

[1] Socialist Fight No. 7, <http://socialistfight.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/socialist-fight-no-7.pdf>

[2] [http://www.ukrainesolidarity.co.uk/#!/about\\_us/cjg9](http://www.ukrainesolidarity.co.uk/#!/about_us/cjg9)

[3] Who Was Stepan Bandera?, by Norman J.W. Goda, <http://hnn.us/article/122778>

# GMB Conference report: Great enthusiasm for basic reformist demands, end zero hours contracts, living wage, end austerity, a modest renationalisation programme. But none of this will come to pass.

By Fergus O'Connor

This years GMB congress convened less than one year before the general election. This was of crucial importance and was the abiding theme of the congress as each policy debate was seen in the context of the general election and what the GMB and its members should expect from a Miliband Labour government. This included debates on the ending of zero hours contracts, the introduction of a living wage, the renationalisation of key public utilities. All of these debates were met with great enthusiasm from what was a very well attended congress with a large number of committed activists from across a number of diverse campaigns present as delegates.

On the motion against austerity there was a real desire of congress delegates to organise and fight back and put an end to austerity and ensure that the next labour government was committed to that agenda. The motion itself went as far as to call for a general strike thus demonstrating the mood of militancy present within the GMB after 4 years of coalition attacks.

This mood was reflected in the manner by which Rachel Reeves MP was booed and heckled at congress during a question and answer session. She was asked a question, "would Labour abolish zero hours contracts?" Her answer was to state that Labour would introduce legislation whereby workers after one year in a job can ask for a permanent contract and went on to say that she couldn't see the big fuss although zero hours contracts are wrong she stated to a bewildered and by now angry congress that she knew a lot of people who liked zero hours contracts. As was correctly pointed out by a delegate from Liverpool employers will simply terminate a workers employment before they can get to the one year point where Miliband's legislation would allow workers to ask for a contract. This debate and Reeves' approach clearly demonstrating the divide between the aspirations and current anger of union members and the pro capitalist labour leaders. Although Miliband when he addressed the conference later in the week gave a more progressive spin the damage had already been done.

The mood of congress was echoed by the words of Paul Kenny, the general secretary, giving his congress address. Kenny stated that after all we had been through with the last four years of austerity and that following on from the way trade unionists had been let down by the Blair and Brown governments that as a trade union affiliated to Labour we needed Miliband to offer us something real and tangible. Paul Kenny cited a football analogy; Ed needs to speak to the badge, he needs to back GMB policies the key ones passed at congress. Paul Kenny address was greeted with great enthusiasm demonstrating the mood at congress.

The reality is that to ensure the Labour government delivers for union members is a straightforward task. The GMB needs to ensure that it exerts pressure at every level of the Party. The General secretary Paul Kenny is the chair of TULO and can use the anger and determination shown by this congress to place these policy demands onto the Labour leadership in the run up to the general election and the setting of the manifesto. All the Labour affiliated unions conferences have passed and pledged to campaign on similar motions to that of the GMB congress. Each of these unions has sponsored Labour MPs; the GMB has around 80 presently.

The GMB itself has actively sought to ensure that trade union members have been selected. Paul Kenny championed the working class credentials



*Teamsters' President Jimmy Hoffa Paul Kenny has his methods if not his friends!*

of these candidates at congress. Therefore a mandate can be placed on these MP's to deliver the key policies adopted by the trade unions. Which if we need reminding are hardly a revolutionary programme but basic reformist demands, end to zero hours contracts, a living wage, an end to austerity and a modest renationalisation programme.

Unfortunately none of this will come to pass that is clear in advance and the mood of anger and militancy displayed by the delegates will be carefully controlled and managed by the bureaucracy. This is due to the historic role played by the trade union bureaucracies in managing the militancy and movement of the workers on behalf of capitalism against the threat of socialist revolution and indeed almost any meaningful resistance.

Trotsky aptly explained this 80 years ago in a marvellous article "The Trade Unions In Britain - 1933". In the GMB the bureaucracy for historic reasons is especially entrenched and capable of performing this task, indeed under its current general secretary very willing to play the role capitalism demands of it. This bureaucracy

polices all aspects of its internal affairs and any form of opposition to it within its ranks and there is a well created cult of personality of the leader.

There is at present no GMB Broad Left and due to the federal structure of the GMB and the power of the General Secretary and his willingness in fact one might say eagerness to act internally to ensure no dissent the establishment of a Broad Left seems a herculean task. The methods of control employed by the bureaucracy include expulsions, sacking of officers who question the authority of the bureaucracy, disciplining of branch office holders and any number of other tricks learnt and perfected over generations.

But our class has proved time and again that it is able to break the stranglehold of the most entrenched and committed union bureaucracies. The shining example always remains that of *Teamsters for Democratic Union* who came together and worked in an underground manner in order to break the bureaucracy of no less than the Jimmy Hoffa acolytes ably supported by the Mafia in the good old USA.

Therefore the task posed before the GMB members those very delegates at congress who expressed this mood of anger is one that has not changed over generations that of how to break the hold of the bureaucracy over the members. There is only one answer to this and that is for key activists to come together inside the GMB and begin the hard task of building a broad left that over time can begin to play the role of a genuine opposition to the bureaucracy. This is the only possible way that the bureaucracy can be broken and the socialist trade union cadres can reach this mood of the activists and members and harness it in pursuit of the genuine aims and aspirations of the class struggle and not just the limited agenda of the GMB congress but adopting a programme that faces up to the problems point blank posed by capitalism. This task is our task and one we can't shirk or falter from if we are to turn the trade unions from organisations policed by the bureaucratic agents of capital into revolutionary organs of workers power.

## Letter from Argentina: Dear Comrade Gerry:

I read with interest the article by Michael Holden on Amnesty International and Irish political prisoners. The article makes its case against Amnesty very well. I believe that we from the LCFI need to make an analysis of and establish what are our perspectives on organizations that defend human rights that generally operate internationally.

In that sense it would be of interest see how closely Amnesty – which is based on western European social democracy – accords with the "human rights" agenda of United States Democratic Party.

As interest in the recent past that will allow us to illus-

trate the present, it would be interesting to set out the differences between Amnesty and "human rights" in relation to the question of Irish and Basque POWs during the decade of the 90s of the 20th century.

In that sense it could establish that measure these organizations took during the "hot peace" i.e. during the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union when it seemed that the contradictions among the imperialist powers of the United States, Europe and Japan, would make a qualitative leap.

With this balance sheet we should aim to demonstrate what these organizations, which operate within the contradictions within global capitalism, play the role of build-

ing a "democratic" consensus in relation to the great powers that linked them together, even their ties with the party system in each one of these powers.

That so if we start from this premise we can, also, get away from sectarian positions, since we can explain very well the contradictions within the global system, and in this case the need for a "democratic consensus" which must be tactically leveraged, to see that in terms more organic that as the LCFI we can weave some accordance according to this tactical advantage, you from SF are vanguard in this sense. It is in relation to these ideas that I write these lines.

Fraternal greetings: Germán. (Argentina)

**Leon Trotsky: I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International; Go Forward! 6**



## Public Sector Fightback : Far Too Little...but still NOT TOO Late

**Gove sacking gives a glimpse of what can be achieved –his policies must be reversed, Organise Co-ordinated Strikes NOW**  
By Graham Durham, UNITE shop steward (personal capacity)

The panic in the Tory/Lib Dem government over the unpopularity of education policies led to the shuffling of the Tory pack and the humiliating sacking of Michael Gove. Coming four days after the NUT strike action and other public sector strikes on 10 July by UNITE, UNISON and GMB there could be no greater example of the power which public sector workers have.

This should be an inspiring example to all public sector workers who have felt the massive pain of job losses, harsh pay reversals and privatisations. All members of these trade unions should now demand joint co-ordinated public sector strike action to halt further privatisation ,smash the pay cuts and defend jobs across the NHS, local government and education.

The signs that the trade union leaders are prepared for this are not good at the time of writing. UNISON has called a second national strike on pay for 30 September but this has not been co-ordinated with other unions. The London demonstration of 10 July called initially by the NUT was poorly supported by other unions on strike that day.

This poor co-ordination echoes the weak response from trade union leaders to the savage attacks experienced by their members. The pension dispute was abandoned with only tiny concessions gained and all public sector workers experienced increased deductions from their shrunken pay.

Education is a case in point. After limited joint action teacher trade unions – particularly the NAS/UWT and ATL – have left the NUT alone as the only union prepared to use strike action on any issue. Yet this reasonable approach has only seen the Tories expand numerous attacks on teachers. The massive academy programme creating thousands of entirely independent state funded schools has seen huge abuses of teacher conditions from abuse of short-term contracts to harsh and speeded up capability procedures being used to sack more experienced, and therefore more expensive, teachers. The Free School programme has seen an extension of public money given to schools which were not needed, unaccountable funding to religious and other groups and the predictable employment of unqualified teachers and the dismissal of national conditions. Gove has also forced through payment by results policies which commence in September.

This privatisation of education is leading to demoralisation in the teaching profession and an unheard of gap between high earning Academy chain executives and Heads and the teachers experiencing the worst pay for thirty years and the most punitive regime since teachers had to bring their own coal to class in the Victorian era. Add to this the constant threat to all of an Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted)



*Tipping point? The head of Ofsted has said he urged Michael Gove not to remove the chair of the school's watchdog from post. Sir Michael Wilshaw said the education secretary had consulted him on his wish "to do something about the chairship". BBC Education News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-26151572>*

judgment which will lead to forced academisation and the passivity of some trade unions is inexplicable.

For working-class children the narrowing of the curriculum and the imposition of ever more harsh behaviour initiatives, aping the culture of Gove's beloved private schools, mean that those children with special needs or who have talent in creative areas are being denied opportunities to progress. Instead they are being prepared for life in Tory Britain – low wages, job insecurity and passive tolerance. It is no accident that following the 10 July strikes Cameron talked up further restrictions on trade union rights in a future Tory government.

The story in education of privatisation and attacks on national conditions can be repeated across health and local government with NHS patients and the most vulnerable in society the victims of cuts and lacking a co-ordinated lead to follow.

The NUT, NAS/UWT, ATL, UNITE, UNISON and GMB have a huge responsibility to defend education, health and vital services and the evidence is there that the Tory/Lib Dems can be forced back.

Joint strike action for pay and against Tory destruction of services should start with an all out stoppage and marches on 30 September to build for further extended action. The Tories can and must be beaten.

## On Scottish Independence: some thoughts

By Ella Downing

It has become increasingly popular on the left to align yourself with the YES campaign north of the boarder, and no doubt many of the arguments for independence sound reasonable if not very radical indeed; affordable child care, the free prescriptions and universities, and end to the need for food banks, more sustainable and affordable energy. The Scottish people deserve all these things, but my contention is that so does the rest of the working-class of these isles, and we are all the weaker without Scottish radicalism.

I would suggest that dividing the oldest working class in the world along national, and let's face it, sentimental lines, isn't a good move. It may give a lifeboat from austerity, temporarily, to some millions, but leave very many more millions to the animals. From a parliamentary point of view, losing a great number of Labour MPs from Scotland will allow Labour to lurch further to the right as they attempt to win over seats previously held by the Tories, the Tories stray into BNP/UKIP territory resulting in the palpable threat of fascism in the UK.

It allows for the unions to be broken up likewise, we are no longer in a position to hold Britain-wide public sector strikes, as we'll be targeting two different governments and will presumably working under differing

working conditions. During the Great Miners Strike of 1984/5 the Scottish support for the miners in Scotland but primarily Wales and the North of England was instrumental in making it such a close fight. Whilst independence wouldn't preclude such support being given in the future, the rise of nationalism may result in it being seen as 'their fight', as opposed to a united working-class one.

Many of us would have heard the line that the remaining UK will be 'inspired by Scotland's emerging socialism' and become a more enlightened place because of it; but this never sits right for me. Change happens through concerted effort, not by contrast and comparison. The reality is the working class of these isles will be all the weaker having lost a significantly radical section. A section, incidentally, not represented by the SNP whose White-Paper paints what an independent Scotland looks like— they propose keeping the Pound, the Queen and membership of NATO, proposals a Tory candidate for parliament might be heard shouting for.

I'm no conservative, and don't like a lot of the fear mongering done by Better Together. I do believe that Scotland and it's people will be better off, at least in the short term, if they vote Yes, but I think it will be to the detriment of the rest of the British working class, larger in number. For a united resistance!

# Fascists routed in Cricklewood

By Ella Downing

Saturday 19 July saw seven members of the South East Alliance (SEA) walk, with heavy police protection, from Kilburn Station towards Cricklewood where they stood in a pen, and were confronted by at least 300 anti-fascists. They were utterly humiliated, didn't reach their target (an empty shop front) and were turned back early.

This follows on the heels of last month's march by the SEA along the same route where forty-five turned up and were turned away in a relatively short period of time, out-numbered approximately three to one. Previously members of the insipid Britain First, so adept at getting innocents to share their internet memes, showed up in Cricklewood, and were likewise outnumbered.

So the pattern is clear, the third time round we have about forty-five locals for every one angry Essex man; every time the far-right attempt a show of strength the outcry from the local community is trebled. On the day we were joined by trade union representatives, councillors, parliamentary candidates, a wicked samba band named Rhythms of Resistance and even the parish vicar. We saw the local community at its very best, pouring out onto the street to raucous cries of 'Alerta! Alert! Anti-fascista!' and 'Nazi-scum, off our streets'. We were particularly glad to welcome a Polish contingent of anti-fascists, toting banners and justifiable rage.



At one point a police officer, of which there were many, was heard to say 'Those SEA could all go home in the same taxi' - a slogan quickly taken up by the Anti-Fa. The policing operation must have cost a fortune, and we are hopeful that next time these dim-wits apply to march their seven sorry selves down our street the police will simply refuse them permission, and after Saturday they won't dare show their faces in Cricklewood without police protection.

No Pasaran!

## Northampton General Hospital dispute and the role of the Unite bureaucracy

By Alan Hunter

Seventy eight Bio medical scientists and support workers working in the Northampton General Hospital (NGH) Pathology department have been banned from working there since Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> June 2014 and have been locked out by management.

Len McCluskey Unite General Secretary visited his locked out members on Friday 18<sup>th</sup> July in Northampton and said "I am calling on Dr Sonia Swart (Northampton Trust CEO) to abandon her war on NHS workers and get around the table to negotiate a solution".

The workforce has rejected threats and intimidation from the trust and has remained resolute and defiant against the wishes of the Trust to smash Unite. Their magnificent fight to defend Unite against a witchhunt showed the way to fight, however the same could not be said for the Unite bureaucracy. Their whole role in this dispute has been to find a way back to the negotiating table. Steve Turner, Assistant General Secretary, and Mick Orpin, Regional Industrial Organiser, have been in discussions with ACAS to end the dispute.

McCluskey had threatened to issue an Injunction in the High Court of Justice against the trust because of their use of agency staff in an industrial dispute, but on Thursday 26 July the injunction was withdrawn and the dispute ended. This was a rotten deal organised by the Unite bureaucracy at the highest levels. The Pathology shop steward Terry Lodge was only allowed to be involved once in the negotiations which usually composed of bureaucrats lead to rotten deals and compromises.

Many of the workers I spoke to outside the Northampton General Hospital were very unhappy with this saw called deal and compromise. "This was a compromise deal and you cannot call this a victory" several of them commented to me. They are very unhappy and angry about the outcome in which they had high hopes that the officials would fight for their demands. The Unite bureaucracy wanted this to be a sectional dispute from the beginning and restrict it to the biomedical workers. No attempts were made to spread the dispute by seeking the support of local Unite members working in the hospital in other departments and seeking support from Unison, the GMB and other health unions.



This is an important lesson for workers. After the Grangemouth debacle where a whole membership in the oil refinery was betrayed, the Unite leadership has continued in Northampton where it left off in Falkirk.

Without a determined and conscious Trotskyist leadership many disputes left in the hands of the local bureaucracy will lead to defeat and betrayal. There must be a conscious decision to fight for a disciplined Rank and File Leadership that will not betray at the first hurdle but continue until all of the demands are met and the strike has spread to a general strike to bring down this coalition government. This rank and file leadership must be elected and accountable to the membership.

The biomedical workers were new to industrial action and trusted the local officials to fight for their demands. This mistake they will not make again. The local officials never wanted the dispute to be spread in defence of the NHS. All they achieved was a compromise deal with no visual improvements in their pay and conditions. Much of the issues that the biomedical workers were locked out remain unresolved.





# Irish Republican Prisoners Support Group



**T**he IRPSG held two pickets in London at the end of June, the first a picket of the Irish Embassy; on Friday 27 June for Political Status for Irish POWs, Justice for the Craigavon Two and the second a Protest Picket against the ill treatment and forcible strip-searching of the three women Re-

publican POWs in Hydebank; Christine Connor, Sharon Rafferty and Nuala Gormley on Saturday 28 June, at the Ministry of Justice, Petty France, SW1. This is the texts of the leaflets for the events:

## **Picket of the Irish Embassy; Political status for Irish POWs, Justice for the Craigavon Two 17 Grosvenor Place London SW1X 7HR, Friday 27/06/14**

"Today the British appeal court made a shocking decision in the case of Brendan McConville and John Paul Wootton (The Craigavon Two) by dismissing their appeals against their life sentence convictions for the killing of PSNI Constable Stephen Carroll in 2009.

The *Justice for the Craigavon Two Group* firmly believe this decision by the appeal court judges is a political one and not one based on the facts of the case. Regardless of this decision the fact remains there is no credible evidence linking Brendan or John Paul to the shooting of Stephen Carroll, this assertion is fully supported by a large number of leading legal and human rights experts.

This decision has been a hammer blow for Brendan and John Paul the McConville and Wootton Families and for everyone who has campaigned for and supported the fight for Justice for Craigavon Two. But today's decision has only hardened our resolve in recommitting ourselves and redouble our efforts to pursue an end to this miscarriage of justice, bringing this case to a successful conclusion; the full exoneration of Brendan McConville and John Paul Wootton.

It seems the judicial system in the north is inherently corrupted, incapable of rectifying this most blatant of injustices and therefore we will rely on the public, which this system claims to protect to rectify these wrongs.

We call on the public to view the facts of this case, to look past today's public whitewash (imposed by the British State and its agencies) and rally to the cause of justice and human rights by supporting the call for Justice for the Craigavon Two." PRO JFTC2

## **Gerry Conlon on the political decision to intern the Craigavon 2 for life**

*Gerry Conlon died on 22 June. He spent 15 years wrongfully imprisoned for the Guildford bombing. This statement on 31 May was his last political act:*

"Just heard that the government judges have upheld the convictions of the Craigavon Two. It is an appalling decision in light of the new evidence and witnesses that were called on behalf of Brendan and John Paul. Anyone who attended the appeal hearing was struck by the compelling new evidence and the forcefulness of the new witnesses.

What we have seen today is nothing short of disgraceful and a complete whitewash by the judiciary in order to protect corrupt and dishonest elements within the police. The case of the Craigavon Two will not fade away as is hoped by the establishment but it will continue until justice is done and seen to be done.

Those politicians who claim to represent and speak for nationalist, republicans and the working class should be outraged by this judgement, they now have an opportunity to voice their concern and outrage at this blatant injustice."



**Gerry Conlon RIP 1954-2014**

**Protest Picket against the ill treatment and forcible strip-searching of the three women Republican POWs in Hydebank; Christine Connor, Sharon Rafferty and Nuala Gormley Saturday 28 June, Ministry of Justice, 3 - 4 pm 102 Petty France, SW1H 9AJ**

## **Sharon Rafferty forcibly strip-searched in Hydebank**

On Wednesday, 14th Aug, Sharon Rafferty, Sean Kelly, Aidan Coney and Gavin Coney were taken out to Omagh Court for their P.I. (preliminary investigation) The 3 men in which is unfortunately now normal practice for Republican prisoners in Maghaberry were forcibly strip-searched before leaving the gaol but in a sinister development it has transpired that female Republican prisoner Sharon Rafferty was also forcibly strip-searched by staff in Hydebank gaol. Sharon was physically restrained by staff and her clothing was forcibly removed. Sharon has been left with physical injuries

and no doubt emotionally scarred by this brutal sexual assault. IRPSG demand an end to all strip-searches and strongly condemn this new development whereby female Republican prisoners are forcibly strip searched in Hydebank.



## **Hydebank prisoner Christine Connor denied medical treatment, by Gaol and by Judge** Posted on December 11, 2013

Cogús (the RNU Prisoner department) express increasing concern at what is becoming an evident campaign by the Hydebank authorities to deliberately deny female prisoner Christine Connor much needed outstanding medical treatment and ask what is the logic behind their vindictive refusal? Three times since her incarceration last August, Christine has been held back from gaining outside hospital treatment for the presence of painful gallstones, this was on the grounds that she had refused a strip search, a practice which is supposedly being reviewed by the prison service who claim to be acting in a spirit of 'goodwill' pending research into alternatives. On Tuesday December 9th, Christine's legal team applied to the Magistrates court for her temporary release to hospital on compassionate grounds, with her solicitor Michael Madden offering assurances that he himself would accompany her from the Prison grounds to the hospital and back again to Hydebank.

However in a move which called both medical ethics and the good name of Mr Madden into question, the judge refused, citing 'security concerns'. Christine is now suffering considerable pain as a result of prolonged medical neglect of her condition.

It should be noted that Christine has also recently been threatened by the Hydebank administration with a loss of visitation rights, citing spurious suspicions of 'security breaches' as reason for punishment. RNU hope that these developments do not signal the beginning of vindictive practices in Hydebank, such as have been witnessed in Maghaberry in recent time

For our part, we intend to make immediate representation to human right bodies (including the International Red Cross) regarding Christine's case. We have engaged with and received promises of assistance from independent councillor Angela Nelson on this issue, and now take this opportunity to call on all those concerned with prisoners rights and women's welfare to ensure that we do not witness yet another episode of neglect within the walls of Hydebank women's prison.

# Amnesty International and Irish political prisoners!

By Michael Holden, IRPSG

Amnesty International has launched a global anti-torture campaign calling for an end to the practice which it acknowledges is becoming less frequent.

Amnesty singled out five countries where torture is considered a particular problem and where it believes it's campaign can have the most impact. Countries identified are - Nigeria, Mexico, Uzbekistan, Philippines and Western Sahara. However the North of Ireland is not listed.

Nobody would suggest for a minute that Amnesty International hasn't done tremendous work campaigning for human rights and prisoners rights for many decades. But it would appear to the casual observer that where Irish political prisoners are concerned Amnesty International remains strangely silent - which is more than a little surprising when we consider that Britain has a long history of using torture on political prisoners at home and abroad. The Compton Enquiry acknowledged detainees were tortured in Long Kesh and other detention centres throughout the north of Ireland during "the troubles" - were fed bread and water for long periods and then blasted with noise - known thereafter as 'white noise.'

As a result the European Court of Human Rights found Britain guilty of using "inhuman and degrading treatment causing serious physical and psychological suffering to the victim".

To their credit however Amnesty did (at that time) help the Compton Enquiry by submitting their own report on events. So isn't it surprising that allegations of torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners and detainees that Amnesty have now decided not to include the North of Ireland in their global anti-torture campaign?

Nobody now denies that Stephen Murney, Press Officer for the socialist organisation EIRIGI was subjected to physical and mental torture while illegally interned in Maghaberry Prison in the North of Ireland for 14 months and was strip-searched twice a day by six prison guards.

Bearing in mind Maghaberry Prison is equipped with an electronic chair that can detect any concealed object. Following his trial Stephen was acquitted of all charges. His lawyer - rightfully - is pursuing a civil action for damages to his client. We pose the question - how can Stephen's treatment be justified? It's not just harassment and intimidation - it's a form of torture as well. Prior to his arrest and wrongful internment his home had been continually raided by the RUC/PSNI numerous times - and always at six in the morning. They learned well from the Gestapo! This was not ordinary or garden-type harassment of Stephen but of other innocent persons in the house - namely his family.

Amnesty International could well have found Stephen Murney's case a case of real interest. It must surely have all the hall-marks of what they'd be looking for in Nigeria or the Philippines. They would find the case of Gavin Coyle also of interest. Gavin Coyle is serving a 9 year sentence in the Isolation Wing of Maghaberry. Gavin's case is unique in as much as he is incarcerated in the Isolation/Special Supervision Unit and has been there now for over three years.

Gavin wrote to us in December 2013 but we only received his letter in April 2014! His incarceration in this unit is based on the prison governors belief that 'Coyle will not be accepted on the prison wing by the other prisoners.' This is a blatant and down-right lie! Gavin went on a three day hunger-strike in March this year, he was joined in solidarity by the other prisoners. Their support nails the lie he isn't welcome on the wing by them.

Amnesty should also remember that Gavin Coyle's long-term imprisonment on the Isolation Unit contravenes Article 3 of the European

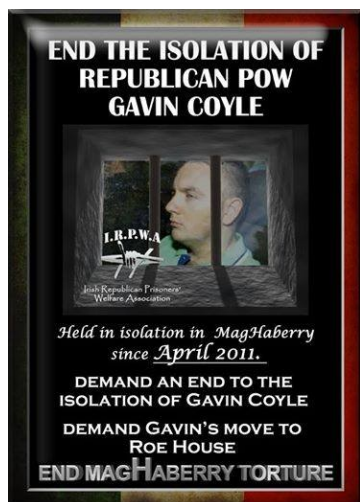


*Amnesty International can also become the vehicle for US Imperialism's anti-communist propaganda—and they never highlight the ill treatment and torture of Irish political prisoners in their global anti-torture campaigns now.*

Convention on Human Rights - that "no one be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading punishment."

Probably the worst case scenario of all is that of Tarlach MacDhomhnaill. This prisoner is serving a sentence also in Maghaberry. He was recently forcibly strip-searched on his return from the prison Visiting Area, and what is of considerable concern to us he has a medical condition called "Arteriovenous Malformation." This medical condition can cause fits and epilepsy triggered by trauma and stress. The fact the prison governor and staff are aware of his condition yet persist in ill-treating him this way has prompted us to make the British Medical Association aware and have requested they investigate his case without delay. We have also asked Amnesty to highlight the case of Gavin Coyle's continued incarceration in the Isolation Unit of Maghaberry Prison. Both these men are being subjected to torture and inhuman conditions.

We are in solidarity with political prisoners in Mexico, Nigeria, Uzbekistan and other countries around the globe but we believe Amnesty International has a duty also to include Irish political prisoners in their global anti-torture campaign, but more on this in next issue of Socialist Fight.



## Updated List of POWs

Maghaberry Prison  
Old Road  
Ballinderry Upper  
Lisburn  
BT28 2PT  
Roe 4  
Joe Barr  
Brian Cavan  
Barry Concannon  
Gavin Coyle (CSU)  
Jason Ceulman  
Anthony Davidson  
Colin Duffy  
Dominic Dynes  
Harry Fitzsimons  
Damien Harkin  
Neil Hegarty  
Seamus Kearney  
Martin Kelly  
Sean Kelly  
Nathan Hastings

Brendan McConville  
Sean McConville  
Alex McCrory  
Anthony McDonnell  
Mark McGuigan  
Ryan McKenna  
DD McLaughlin  
Seamus McLaughlin  
Gerard McManus  
Sean McVeigh  
Kevin Barry Nolan  
Christopher O Kane  
Brian Sheridan  
Kieran Smith  
Kevin Vernon  
John Paul Wotton  
Female Republican  
Wing  
Hydebank Wood  
Hospital Road  
BT8 8NA

Hydebank  
Sharon Rafferty  
Nuala Gormley  
Portlaoise Gaol  
Portlaoise  
County Laois  
E3 Portlaoise Gaol  
Kevin Braney  
John Brock  
Ciaran Burke  
Desmond Christie  
Sean Connolly  
Bernard Dempsey  
Dean Evans  
Sean Farrell  
Cormac Fitzpatrick  
David Jordan  
Nick Kendall  
Nick McBennett  
Jim McCormick  
Edward McGrath  
Stephen McGowan  
Declan Phelan  
Brian Walsh  
Brian Walsh



# The Chile Coup of 1973 and the CP's "Historic Compromise"

By Yao Wenyuan

It has been over 40 years since a coup d'état put an end to the Allende government in Chile. The main blow of the coup and its "raison d'être" (main reason), was aimed principally against the rise and embryonic (in its beginning) revolutionary consciousness of the working class, the peasantry and some low layers of the petit bourgeoisie. It was as savage and violent as to "cut every head that overpass" as the reactionaries and imperialism needed.

Its form was that of the overthrow of a reformist alliance of petit-bourgeois-workers parties named Unidad Popular (UP, Popular Unity) lead by the Chilean communist party and the right wing of the socialist party. This people lead an adventurous, albeit reformist policy that brought the masses and their militant leaders to the slaughterhouse.

Chile in 1970-73 was a country that had a fighting working class on the rise, but they followed the UP coalition. The socialist party, Allende's party, was a conglomerate with a very "revolutionary" language but no internal discipline, full of factions and tendencies, useless to any other activity than winning and working for elections. It was the principal left party in terms of "loose" militancy, local authorities and MPs.

The Communist party, was totally subservient to the bureaucratic Soviet party, and developed first of all, since 1934, what was a form of the Euro communist policy, later adopted by almost every European communist party (Italy, Spain, France and Greece were the more important). But it has a large and disciplined militant following in unions, and other working organizations and suburbs.

During the 60s and later this Euro communist policy took the form of the "peaceful road to socialism". In fact it has been the bloodiest ever in the long history of military massacres of the Chilean workers. This stubborn "Menshevik" policies has been put forward by the CP mainly because they don't believe that in the conditions of Latin America it was possible a socialist revolution against US imperialism.

O. Millas was the theoretical leader of the party and was very close to the CPSU. On several occasion he wrote that at most it can be possible to make some reforms to "modernize Chile" if, and only if, it "could be possible to unite a large number of social classes to isolate the "momios" (reactionaries)" and to neutralize the imperialists. For this, his strategy was to achieve a "Historic Compromise" with the Christians Democrats, the big center-right party. This conception went through the whole government of Allende and the UP.

The problem of actually putting into action this policy was not only the opposition of US imperialism and the reactionaries, but also the working class which has begun to wake up and was fighting for what they thought was "socialism". In fact the UP government enacted as many reforms as were possible, held back as they were by the compromises they had made with the state apparatus and the center right parties who had access to this government.

They were a number of very serious reforms but all within the framework of Chilean capitalism. A large agrarian reform, the nationalization of the mineral riches of the country, the passage to the state of the whole banking system were important achievements. These measures, undertaken at the beginning of the Allende government, raised the enthusiasm and support of the working class that also had seen its wages and pensions increased by 40% and more.

But, at the same time and in a very scientific way, reactionaries and imperialism begun to develop a full scale plan to oppose these reforms. Not only because it impinged very seriously on their interest but, for the imperialists, it signified an incursion into their "reserved



*Chilean army troops positioned on a rooftop fire on the La Moneda Palace, Santiago, 11 September 1973.*

back yard". They moved then to put every possible obstacle in place against the "Historic Compromise" which they saw not only as an entrance of their arch foe, the "revisionist" or "bureaucratic" URSS, but mainly they feared "chaos" or a social revolution.

They then organized every form of boycott of the Allende's government, from refusing all credits, to maneuvers to lower the value of copper, the main resource of Chile, to supporting every reactionary newspaper, or a military putsch or the strike of the middle classes against Allende.

Allende won the first elections with more than a 50% majority but they refused to go and further forward, in opposition to its political supporters on the left of (mainly the left leader of the PS party, Altamirano). The MIR, a ultra-left group who held the 'spark to ignite the tinderbox' theory (mainly students and petit-bourgeois with some very small support amongst peasants and the lower layers of the sub-proletariat) conducted the same policy, not understanding that the real leaders of the PC and consequently of the UP didn't want any "socialism" at all but a Historic Compromise. [1]

Only the "Marxist-Leninist" PCR understands this, but its tactics, and their dogmatism prevent them to have any significant development. Those three year were just a deepening on this same process. The masses pressing for more. The government trying to stop this movement and to compromise with the Christian Democrats. The imperialist and the reactionaries trying and succeeding in retaining the DC completely under the domination of the imperialists

The DC and the National Party (the conservatives and liberal assembled together in one party) made every legal and illegal move to paralyze production, halt the investments, starve the population by controlling the distribution of food, and by using every constituent body of the State (the judiciary, accounts, courts, police and parliament so that not a single law could be passed, etc.) and by promoting military uprisings as often as they could. There were at least six attempts in three years.

In 1972 they triggered a "lorry strike" that paralyzed Chile. Chile is a very narrow country with only one motorway and one railway line all the length of the country, more than 2,000 miles. That bosses' strike was defeated by the spontaneous mobilization of the masses; the rank and file UP members, the MIR and the PCR.

The answer of the government, instead of pushing the advantage, was to set up a bureaucratic ministry compromising the military and the trade unions. Three months latter, in April 1973, there were elections for parliament. The DC-right coalition believe they could win by a sufficient margin to depose Allende but the masses who at that moment didn't want a fight because they didn't have to and did not have organization nor the political direction to win, increased the vote for the UP coalition up to 44%. That was a "triumph" which the UP leaders didn't expect, so big was the propaganda cam-

# The Chile Coup of 1973 and the CP's "Historic Compromise"

paign of the reactionaries.

This "defeat" of the tactic of reaction make for the turn to the coup d'état. Every Chilean knew six months in advance that the coup was in the making and was expected...soon... This put a survival question to every union leader, every militant, even every sympathizer of the "left".

The MIR and Altamirano, leader of the PS, makes very "revolutionary" speeches...but nothing more. The MIR because they have neither the forces nor the ideas to do it, the PS because they were always talking very high but in the real world they followed the CP policy like lambs to the slaughter. Altamirano is a Chilean Largo Caballero. [2]

When the coup came, in many places workers asked for arms to fight. There were none and in the very rarest places where there were arms, the people fought valiantly only to find themselves without direction, without support and at the end of the day without ammunition. The dictatorship could boast they have "vanquished Marxism-Leninism". In fact they have vanquished an irresponsible, adventurous, Menshevik, revisionist policy that had led the masses, the left militants and their membership to defeat, repression, torture and death.

The policy of the government caused the working class to lose 60% of its income but the agrarian reform was completed and the dictatorship finished the work of transforming Chilean agriculture from backward landlord big estates, the latifundias and small peasant ownership into a capitalist agriculture. The mines were not sold by the Junta; it was the "Democratic Coordination" (La Coordinadora Democrática, a coalition of the DC, the far right of the PS and others) who gave it back to the US companies. But the masses suffered 16 years of repression, the destruction of the labour movement, no bourgeois democracy, and the rule of terror.

The "Democratic Consultation" governed Chile for more than 20 years, but maintained all the counter reforms of Pinochet: The health system, the welfare system, pension provisions, the Pinochet Constitution, the anti-union laws, even his political repression against those who opposed capitalism arms in hand (some ultra-left



Pope John Paul II with Pinochet in 1987. with Kissinger, who organised the coup these are surely the most anti-communist reactionaries



*The PS candidate Michelle Bachelet wins 62% in the run-off in December 2013 in Chile; "the PC, supported Michelle Bachelet, in a "new" form of their eternal and fatal Historic Compromise"*

groups who fought also the dictatorship). There are more than 99 extra-judicial murders by the police of the Coordination which has mounted "The Offensive" to

persecute the same ones which the dictatorship had persecuted.

In fact, this "Coordination" which came to power after an agreement with Pinochet, the armed forces and the US embassy, continued the very same policies as Pinochet but in a milder way. There were more public liberties and very few were persecuted by their opinions, but everyone who really fights as the impressive student movement that has lasted more than two years now, as the "mapuches", the native people who have fought for their lands, are still very much oppressed and their ancient territories are occupied by the military police.

General elections were held in Chile on 17 November 2013, including presidential, parliamentary and regional elections. Voters went to the polls to elect:

Today after a right wing government which people voted in four years ago because they were fed up with those "socialists" and "democrats", lost the elections held on 17 November 2013.

The former Socialist party (PS) president Michelle Bachelet presidential election did not get the absolute majority in the first round but won 62% in the runoff election on 15 December defeating right winger Evelyn Matthei Independent Democratic Union.

In the parliamentary elections, the New Majority coalition (backing Bachelet's candidacy) won back control of both chambers of Congress, winning 12 of the 20 contested seats in the Senate, for a total of 21 out of 38 total seats, and 67 of the 120 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. [3]

Finally, perhaps it should be said, that this government is taking some measures to avoid the revolt of the masses but is making every effort not to harm the real interests of the bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie are responding as in the time of Allende, by mobilizing the petite-bourgeoisie against the government and every initiative it takes even if it does have a full majority in both chambers it is still compromising with the right. The PC follows from behind and when those compromises are made the mass media makes sure the public knows. The PC supported Michelle Bachelet, in a "new" form of their eternal and fatal Historic Compromise

## Notes

[1] The Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) (Spanish Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) is a Chilean political organization and former far-left guerrilla organization founded on October 12, 1965. At its height in 1973, the MIR numbered some 10,000 members and associates. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary\\_Left\\_Movement\\_%28Chile%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_Left_Movement_%28Chile%29)

[2] Francisco Largo Caballero, From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia:

"Francisco Largo Caballero (15 October 1869 – 23 March 1946) was one of the historic leaders of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) and of the Workers' General Union (UGT)." He is blamed by Trotskyists for the defeat of the Civil War in Spain (1936-39), [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco\\_Largo\\_Caballero](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Largo_Caballero)

[3] Wikipedia, Chilean general election, 2013, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilean\\_general\\_election,\\_2013](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilean_general_election,_2013)



# American SWP supports US imperialism

By John Barry

The former American Trotskyist organisation, the Socialist Workers Party has in the past months abandoned all pretence at revolutionary socialism as it openly backs imperialist forces and fascist gangs in Ukraine. The past 50 years has seen the total degeneration of this organisation from the abandoning Trotskyism in favour of bourgeois nationalism and Castroism to finally becoming a voice for its own imperialist bourgeoisie. This position by the SWP is entirely in keeping with their history, after taking a principled stand against the Shachtmanites in the 1930s they had degenerated two decades later. Principled Trotskyists in the 1960s predicted the political trajectory of the SWP when under the leadership of Joseph Hanson it made an unprincipled merger with the Pabloite International Secretariat of the Fourth International:

Via Castro and Pabloism, Cannon arrived at exactly the point in methodology where stood Burnham-Shachtman in 1939-40. Instrumental in achieving this remarkable transformation was the same 'radical milieu' in the United States which had provided the steam for Burnham-Shachtman. To insist on the independent mobilisation of the working class behind a conscious Trotskyist vanguard would draw the accusation from these middle class radicals of 'sectarianism' [1]

The SWP today finds itself beyond the Shachtmanite position of sitting on the fence and like Burnham before has gone over completely to the side of US imperialism. Unable to support the mobilisation of workers in the eastern Ukraine against the fascist squads.

In the SWP newspaper *The Militant* they peddle the fiction that the victims of the Odessa massacre were murdered by Russian separatists and that the supporters if the Kiev junta attempted to save them from the inferno! Video evidence strongly contradicts this claim. Much of the reporting in *The Militant* is derived from such source's as the *New York Times*, hardly unbiased coverage![2] Revealing the SWP's naïve appreciation of the US propaganda machine. It is therefore no coincidence that they should display such Russiophobia reminiscent of the McCarthyite witch hunt of the 1950s.

No mention is made in its pages of the symbolic fascist style of this massacre in Odessa, the burning of the House of Trade Unions with the anti fascists inside. Instead *The Militant* triumphantly proclaims: "Armed separatist bands in the east and south never got a foothold or were quickly driven out of the largest cities, including Kharkiv and Dnepropetrovsk, as well as Odessa." [3]

The heroic anti-fascists in Odessa which included the class fighters the Union 'Borotba' revolutionary socialist organisation, are described as 'vigilantes' who 'fled into the nearby Trade Union building'. [4]

Critical support is even given to an oligarch who whipped up his wage slaves into strike action in defence of national unity: "Rinat Akhmetov deployed workers from his two steel plants in Mariupol May 14 to join city cops.....and oust separatist forces.....Thousands of workers signed up." [5]

The Donetsk Peoples' Republic has now announced this oligarch is to have his property nationalised. Denying the role of fascist organisations such as Svoboda and the Right Sector, *The Militant* claims the population has been subjected to a: "Propaganda barrage from Russian media claiming the new government in Kiev was run by a 'fascist junta'," [6] Even some bourgeois media such as the BBC have occasionally acknowledged the fascist organisations dominating the Maidan movement which *The Militant* claims 'energized working class people all across the country', [7] terrorised would be the correct word.

The working class has actually rallied around the remnants of the October Revolution, and made progressive calls for expropriating the oligarchs. However *The Militant* declares the working class protesters as 'separatist armed thugs' who are 'draping themselves with phrases and symbols from the Stalinist era'. [8] These symbols do not just represent relics of Stalinism they also recall to the working class the progressive nature of socialised property relations and planned economy in the albeit degenerated workers



**The SWP appears to be blind to the Bandarite fascist gangs in Ukraine**

state of the Soviet Union. The SWP is of course blinded by Stalinophobia and is incapable of seeing this. The Donetsk and Luhansk Peoples' Republics votes for independence from Ukraine is dismissed by these middle class idiots: "The May 11 vote was organised by a small group of heavily armed paramilitary units" [9]

This is simply parroting the bourgeois press and its lies! Indeed *The Militant* quotes *The New York Times* that in this election there was: "A poster calling for rejection of the "European Jewish Choice" was hung near the ballot box" [10]

They supply no evidence of this claim and even if it is true they fail to mention that there is in Europe now a government which includes fascists in ministerial posts and uses fascist death squads to terrorise the population and especially the organised working class, and that is the Kiev government. It is also directed and abetted by the CIA and Nato forces. Imperialism is backing Ukrainian fascism, the small number of Russian fascists have the backing of no one.

US imperialism and its allies of the North Atlantic bloc are hell bent on exporting their finance capital to Ukraine. Accusations of Russian 'imperialism' do not stand up to justification when the world economy is dominated by US finance capital, extracting interest from the majority of the nations on the planet. This is why the American ruling class will back fascists in the Ukraine. As Trotsky explained: "Fascism is the cudgel in the hands of finance capital. The aim of the crushing of proletarian democracy is to raise the rate of exploitation of labour power." [11]

The SWP has crossed the class lines and joined cheerleaders of its own ruling class, for revolutionary socialists we unequivocally oppose imperialism and fascism.

## Notes

- [1] C. Slaughter, *In Defence of Marxism*, New Park Publications, London, 1971
- [2] [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com), May 26 2014
- [3] [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com), June 2 2014
- [4] [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com), May 19 2014
- [5] [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com), June 2 2014
- [6] [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com), June 9 2014
- [7] *ibid*
- [8] *ibid*
- [9] [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com), May 26 2014
- [10] *ibid*
- [11] [www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/germany/1933/330223.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/germany/1933/330223.htm)

# IDF's Gaza assault is to control Palestinian gas

By Dr. Nafeez Ahmed 9/7/2014

Israel's defence minister has confirmed that military plans to 'uproot Hamas' are about dominating Gaza's gas reserves. Yesterday, Israeli defence minister and former Israeli Defence Force (IDF) chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon announced that Operation Protective Edge marks the beginning of a protracted assault on Hamas. The operation "won't end in just a few days," he said, adding that "we are preparing to expand the operation by all means standing at our disposal so as to continue striking Hamas."

This morning, he said:

We continue with strikes that draw a very heavy price from Hamas. We are destroying weapons, terror infrastructures, command and control systems, Hamas institutions, regime buildings, the houses of terrorists, and killing terrorists of various ranks of command... The campaign against Hamas will expand in the coming days, and the price the organization will pay will be very heavy.

But in 2007, a year before Operation Cast Lead, Ya'alon's concerns focused on the 1.4 trillion cubic feet of natural gas discovered in 2000 off the Gaza coast, valued at \$4 billion. Ya'alon dismissed the notion that "Gaza gas can be a key driver of an economically more viable Palestinian state" as "misguided." The problem, he said, is that:

Proceeds of a Palestinian gas sale to Israel would likely not trickle down to help an impoverished Palestinian public. Rather, based on Israel's past experience, the proceeds will likely serve to fund further terror attacks against Israel... A gas transaction with the Palestinian Authority [PA] will, by definition, involve Hamas. Hamas will either benefit from the royalties or it will sabotage the project and launch attacks against Fatah, the gas installations, Israel – or all three... It is clear that without an overall military operation to uproot Hamas control of Gaza, no drilling work can take place without the consent of the radical Islamic movement."

Operation Cast Lead did not succeed in uprooting Hamas, but the conflict did take the lives of 1,387 Palestinians (773 of whom were civilians) and 9 Israelis (3 of whom were civilians). Since the discovery of oil and gas in the Occupied Territories, resource competition has increasingly been at the heart of the conflict, motivated largely by Israel's increasing domestic energy woes.

Mark Turner, founder of the Research Journalism Initiative, reported that the siege of Gaza and ensuing military pressure was designed to "eliminate" Hamas as "a viable political entity in Gaza" to generate a "political climate" conducive to a gas deal. This involved rehabilitating the defeated Fatah as the dominant political player in the West Bank, and "leveraging political tensions between the two parties, arming forces loyal to Abbas and the selective resumption of financial aid."

Ya'alon's comments in 2007 illustrate that the Israeli cabinet is not just concerned about Hamas – but concerned that if Palestinians develop their own gas resources, the resulting economic transformation could in turn fundamentally increase Palestinian clout.

Meanwhile, Israel has made successive major discoveries in recent years – such as the Leviathan field estimated to hold 18 trillion cubic feet of natural gas – which could transform the country from energy importer into aspiring energy exporter with ambitions to supply Europe, Jordan and Egypt. A potential obstacle is that much of the 122 trillion cubic feet of gas and 1.6 billion barrels of oil in the Levant Basin Province lies in territorial waters where borders are hotly disputed between Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Gaza and Cyprus.

Amidst this regional jockeying for gas, though, Israel faces its own little-understood energy challenges. It could, for instance, take until



*A Palestinian boy plays in the rubble of a house destroyed in an Israeli air strike on Beit Hanoun, Gaza. Photograph: Khalil Hamra/AP*

2020 for much of these domestic resources to be properly mobilised.

But this is the tip of the iceberg. A 2012 letter by two Israeli government chief scientists – which the Israeli government chose not to disclose – warned the government that Israel still had insufficient gas resources to sustain exports despite all the stupendous discoveries. The letter, according to Ha'aretz, stated that Israel's domestic resources were 50% less than needed to support meaningful exports, and could be depleted in decades:

"We believe Israel should increase its [domestic] use of natural gas by 2020 and should not export gas. The Natural Gas Authority's estimates are lacking. There's a gap of 100 to 150 billion cubic meters between the demand projections that were presented to the committee and the most recent projections. The gas reserves are likely to last even less than 40 years!"

As Dr Gary Luft – an advisor to the US Energy Security Council – wrote in the Journal of Energy Security, "with the depletion of Israel's domestic gas supplies accelerating, and without an imminent rise in Egyptian gas imports, Israel could face a power crisis in the next few years... If Israel is to continue to pursue its natural gas plans it must diversify its supply sources."

Israel's new domestic discoveries do not, as yet, offer an immediate solution as electricity prices reach record levels, heightening the imperative to diversify supply. This appears to be behind Prime Minister Netanyahu's announcement in February 2011 that it was now time to seal the Gaza gas deal. But even after a new round of negotiations was kick-started between the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority and Israel in September 2012, Hamas was excluded from these talks, and thus rejected the legitimacy of any deal.

Earlier this year, Hamas condemned a PA deal to purchase \$1.2 billion worth of gas from Israel Leviathan field over a 20 year period once the field starts producing. Simultaneously, the PA has held several meetings with the British Gas Group to develop the Gaza gas field, albeit with a view to exclude Hamas – and thus Gazans – from access to the proceeds. That plan had been the brainchild of Quartet Middle East envoy Tony Blair.

But the PA was also courting Russia's Gazprom to develop the Gaza marine gas field, and talks have been going on between Russia, Israel and Cyprus, though so far it is unclear what the outcome of these have been. Also missing was any clarification on how the PA would exert control over Gaza, which is governed by Hamas.

According to Anais Antreasyan in the University of California's Journal of Palestine Studies, the most respected English language journal devoted to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel's stranglehold



over Gaza has been designed to make :

Palestinian access to the Marine-1 and Marine-2 gas wells impossible.” Israel’s long-term goal “besides preventing the Palestinians from exploiting their own resources, is to integrate the gas fields off Gaza into the adjacent Israeli offshore installations.

This is part of a wider strategy of:

.... separating the Palestinians from their land and natural resources in order to exploit them, and, as a consequence, blocking Palestinian economic development. Despite all formal agreements to the contrary, Israel continues to manage all the natural resources nominally under the jurisdiction of the PA, from land and water to maritime and hydrocarbon resources.

For the Israeli government, Hamas continues to be the main obstacle to the finalisation of the gas deal. In the incumbent defence minister’s words:

Israel’s experience during the Oslo years indicates Palestinian gas profits would likely end up funding terrorism against Israel. The threat is not limited to Hamas... It is impossible to prevent at least some of the gas proceeds from reaching Palestinian terror groups.

The only option, therefore, is yet another “military operation to uproot Hamas.”

Unfortunately, for the IDF uprooting Hamas means destroying the group’s perceived civilian support base – which is why Palestinian civilian casualties massively outweigh that of Israelis. Both are

obviously reprehensible, but Israel’s capacity to inflict destruction is simply far greater.

In the wake of Operation Cast Lead, the Jerusalem-based Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (Pcati) found that the IDF had adopted a more aggressive combat doctrine based on two principles – “zero casualties” for IDF soldiers at the cost of deploying increasingly indiscriminate firepower in densely populated areas, and the “dahiya doctrine” promoting targeting of civilian infrastructure to create widespread suffering amongst the population with a view to foment opposition to Israel’s opponents.

This was confirmed in practice by the UN fact-finding mission in Gaza which concluded that the IDF had pursued a “deliberate policy of disproportionate force,” aimed at the “supporting infrastructure” of the enemy - “this appears to have meant the civilian population,” said the UN report.

The Israel-Palestine conflict is clearly not all about resources. But in an age of expensive energy, competition to dominate regional fossil fuels are increasingly influencing the critical decisions that can inflame war.

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## Socialist Fight Statement on Occupied Palestine

Extract: full statement on <http://socialistfight.com/> 27/7/14

As we write this statement the death toll of defenceless citizens in Gaza city has surpassed 1,000. Horrific war crimes have been committed daily by the Zionist murder machine which the whole world can see. Israel has kept the 1.8 million inhabitants of Gaza under siege for eight years now since shortly after Hamas won the elections in 2006. Israel bombs them every few years, “mowing the lawn” as one particularly fascistic Israeli army officer put it. Only one nation gives Israel implicit permission to carry out this mass slaughter and protects it in the United Nations and elsewhere from resolutions and any effective action to rein in their attack dog; the USA.

Socialist Fight stands for a multi-ethnic workers’ state in Occupied Palestine/Israel and is totally opposed to a two state solution. We are for the destruction of the settler-colonial state of Israel and for a Multi-ethnic Workers State of Palestine in a Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

### The Rights of Nationalities in a Multi-ethnic Workers state

The Zionist state is an outpost of imperialism; the US subsidises its military expenditure to the tune of over \$3 Billion annually. This expenditure is to maintain a bridgehead to militarily protect imperialism’s access to oilfields in the Gulf and Caspian Sea and crush any revolutionary developments that might threaten US interests in the region.

We do not recognise Jews internationally as a nation which grants every Jew in the world Israeli citizenship and the “right to return” on the basis of their mother’s religion as determined by a religious court whilst denying the right of return and citizenship to Palestinians who were born there who were driven out in 1948, 67 or 73 and to their descendants.

We recognise that Israeli Jews constitute a nationality like other nationalities and religions in the region, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Druze, etc but we do not advocate Jewish right to self-determination because that would be to endorse the Zionist racist project of excluding non-Jews from the state. So whilst we are for the destruction of the Zionist semi-theocratic state we defend the rights of Jews as a nationality to their cultural identity and local autonomy. We propose a multi-ethnic workers’ state of Palestine where Jews, Palestinians, and all minorities have equal rights as citizens, to which the several generations of Palestinian refugees are given the right to return and to which all immigrants have equal rights of entry.

We reject the two state solution as an impossible dream now. Zionist settlements have made sure of this. The fact that it is solution advocated by but never seriously sought by Zionism and imperialism and that it has been

accepted by successive PLO leaderships and might well be accepted by Hamas does not make it a progressive solution nor one that the majority of Palestinians would opt

for if they were given a viable choice.

Zionism will not allow Gaza and the West Bank to link up territorially; there is no prospect that Zionism will withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, which in any case abandons the Palestinian diaspora. Gaza is an isolated hell-hole which can never develop a viable economy on its own; the West Bank is so truncated by illegal Jewish settlements and hemmed in by the illegal wall that it is clear that the long term plans of Zionism are not for any kind of viable state there either. All that is now on offer are isolated Bantustans hemmed in by rings of steel to which the Palestinian citizens of Israel may well be expelled if the ‘viable two state solution’ ever becomes a reality.

We take this stand on a multi-ethnic workers’ state because, despite the 80% + backing for the war on Gaza, we are also confident in willing the best elements of the Israeli working class in revolution and the ability of a revolutionary party with the correct transitional method to forge the unity of Arab and Israeli workers, as has happened many times in the past, despite the best efforts of the Histadrut.

- Smash the settler-colonial state of Israel!
- For a Multi-ethnic Workers State of Palestine in a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!
- For Workers Sanctions against Israel!
- Sever links between Histadrut and all trade union federations!
- Forward to the Third Intifada!



**USA dominated global Imperialism; this demonstrates the relationship of these 46 nations to the USA, the only nation in the planet to defend the genocide by Israel against the Palestinians.**

# Eddie Dempsey's account of the London Ukraine events of 9 July supplemented by Gerry Downing

**E**ddie Dempsey, branch Secretary of Paddington No. 1 branch RMT made the following report of the Picket of the EU Commission on 9 July at 6pm and the intervention of supporters of the Solidarity with Antifascist Resistance in Ukraine in the House of Commons meeting at 7pm. I have added in names he did not know and expanded at the end as he had to leave early and missed some of the meeting.



*The picket of the EU Commission in Smith Square on 9 July*

## Eddie's report:

Following our successful protest outside the EU building in Smith Square (between 50 and 60 in attendance – GD) some of our party made our way over to parliament to attend the Socialist Solidarity with Ukraine's meeting hosted by John McDonnell MP advertised as a discussion forum on 'Ukraine - the alternative road ahead'. 30 of us arrived shortly after the meeting had started during a talk by Kirill Buketov of the Praxis Centre Moscow and the global labour institute. I didn't hear enough of his speech to give a full appraisal though he did seem to be reaching the end of an argument that the euro-Maidan movement did not support IMF restructuring of the Ukrainian economy or austerity. He was also speaking about the Kiev government in terms of 'the democratic will of the Ukrainian people'. Once he had finished John McDonnell opened up questions to the floor, I addressed John McDonnell directly, introducing myself as RMT Paddington No. 1 branch Secretary, saying: "You chair our (RMT) parliamentary group and should be aware our union is affiliated nationally to the SARU campaign following an AGM decision yet you are here with this campaign who are supportive of the euro-Maidan movement and the Kiev junta who have openly fascist MPs, have no democratic mandate, have banned the Communist Party, are responsible for the massacre at Odessa and are carrying out atrocities in a military campaign against a civilian population in the South and East of the country."

He responded angrily by asking me to produce a single statement he had made in support of the Kiev Government and stated that the RMT had brought Kirill Buketov to the UK and that he is to address our political school. I have checked at Unity House and can confirm Mr. Bukatov has not been invited to speak at any RMT political education events nor has the RMT any involvement with him whatsoever. Another member of socialist solidarity with Ukraine spoke to say they do not support the Kiev government.

Gerry Downing then spoke to say that on founding statement of the socialist solidarity with Ukraine expressed support for the Kiev regime, he was shouted down and again was told that the campaign did not support the Kiev regime, Chris Ford read the aims of the campaign to the meeting and again asserted that the campaign does not support the Kiev regime. Gerry was adamant that the statement read out was not the one he had read on the internet, he made a further point about the campaign referring to the military onslaught on the South and East as an "anti-terrorist operation" one of our group, a woman from Donbas also took offence at the terminology. The statement Gerry was referring, which is in fact a report from their founding meeting can be accessed here: [http://www.ukrainsolidarity.co.uk/#/about\\_us/cig9](http://www.ukrainsolidarity.co.uk/#/about_us/cig9) I believe the specific passages that give this impression are: "Participants noted that, while much attention has been focussed on the Anti-Terrorist Operation of the Kyiv Government and the separatist movement in the eastern oblasts..." And "Protests will also be organised at the Russian Embassy and the offices of the European Union to demand cancellation of the Ukrainian government's debt..."

A woman who I took to be Ukrainian then stood and asked our group

"how many of us were Ukrainian?" to which a number of our group raised their hands. A member of our group then stood and announced he was from a new country, neither Ukraine nor Russia - but "Novorossiia" which seemed to cause a stir. The woman left soon afterwards. Another of their group from Lambeth left unity spoke (this was Stuart King – GD) to say the number of things our campaigns agree on outnumber those we don't, and

that perhaps we should agree a joint statement. They then went back to Kirill to answer some of the points where he sort of made a focus of Russian interference and that they were not supportive of the IMF or the proposed austerity measures. Kevin O'Hanrahan then made the point that "they should stop banging on about Russia, Russia are effectively out of it, they got what they want and now they aren't the problem, we should be focusing on the fascists in power"

Another speaker (this was Chris Ford – GD) who said he'd been writing about Ukraine for a number of years made a lengthy speech on Russia's interference in Ukraine and the presence of Pavel Gubarov a Neo Nazi he said was in the leadership of the Luhansk people's republic. One of our Ukrainian women began to answer back and there was some to and fro and I left at that point.

## Eddie's account ends here

On the 'anti-terrorist operation' now the clarity emerges. The first three paragraphs ARE the Founding Statement and the rest, the stuff where they revealed their political prejudices, is just an account of the meeting, an addendum to the statement and not the statement itself. No one signed up to this account but no one distanced themselves from it either until I brought it up in the Brent and Harrow LRC where Pete Firmin made the scholastic distinction, (scholastic thought is also known for rigorous conceptual analysis and the careful drawing of distinctions, how many angels can dance on the head of a pin?) which I did not understand because I never imagined anyone would stoop to such chicanery. So the words complained of were there before the people reading out the statement but they chose to ignore them. And they ARE supporters of both the Maidan and the Kiev government because it is not just words but deeds that tell the tale. As Richard Brenner's letter to John McDonnell MP demands:

As you have affirmed the USSC's opposition to the Kiev government, we would now ask that you undertake some action in pursuit of these goals, namely that that you publicly denounce, without qualification, the Ukrainian army and National Guard's offensive in Donetsk and Lugansk, demand that the Right Sector paramilitary officers responsible for the Odessa murders be brought to justice, oppose the NATO manoeuvres in Ukraine this summer, and call on the British government and the EU to end its support for the Kiev regime.

We can be confident that there will be no favourable response to this challenge. Moreover strong support was expressed at the meeting for the Maidan movement itself, although its "contradictions" were acknowledged. In fact the government is not fascist, it is a US puppet junta which contains fascist minister but is to the left of the Maidan, which has now become an outright fascist movement. It demonstrated to end the ceasefire when the Southeast demonstrated for peace. It sends its forcers to commit White Terror atrocities against civilians and the left in the Southeast. They murdered the 48 anti-fascists in the trade union house in Odessa on 2 May. They are fascists.

Eddie ends his account where the most disgraceful incidents of the night began. The Ukrainian woman he referred to complained about the fighters in the Southeast being called terrorists, and another woman later spoke of the actions of the Kiev junta, they had banned the Russian language (not



# Eddie Dempsey on London Ukraine events of 9 July

true, the pro-Maidan hecklers shouted at her, in fact the parliament had banned it but the President vetoed the law, no doubt on US instructions; the intention was clear), they were banning the use of Russian names and they were changing all the history books in the schools to reflect their bigotry (more heckling and derision). When the hecklers shouted at her that Gubarev, People's Governor of the Donetsk Region, was a fascist she explained that he was fighting for the people there and she had to support him. This drew more hoots of derision for the pro-Maidan mob. In particular both Brighid Ó Duinn and I were outraged at the derision that Simon Pirani was pouring on these courageous women and we let him know it – we had all been members of the WRP under Gerry Healy but he was one of the central leaders and we were rank and filers – “the working class have the shit on the outside but the middle class have it inside” Bridget remarked at his actions.

It is well known that Gubarev was once a neo-Nazi and he has recently become involved with the LaRouchies but we would question if he or they are fascists. Fascism is not simply a far right reactionary movement, it is an organisation dedicated to smashing the organised working class to restore the rate of profit of Imperialism. He is presenting himself now as an anti-fascist and in a certain sense he is; he does not pull down statues of Lenin, nor outlaw red flags or communist parties, as the Maidan fascists do, let alone seek to smash trade unions. He is forced to fight Imperialism with almost no assistance from Russia. One interview with him in the bourgeois press says his office is plastered with posters of Guevara and Hugo Chavez. That would be highly unusual for a fascist.

The derision of the pro-Maidan crew amounted to a demand that the population in the Southeast expel their leaders and surrender. In fact it is always the case that those whom US imperialism want to attack and murder must first be demonised by the capitalist mass media and by the chauvinist apologists for Imperialism within the workers movement, Saddam, Gaddafi, Assad, Al-Maliki are just the recent examples. With no shortage of former leftists to parrot their propaganda and hail their bogus “revolutions”.

Brighid Ó Duinn spoke just after Eddie left: Bombs dropping tonight in Palestine and Ukraine, both courtesy of US Imperialism which hasn't been mentioned once here. Yet McCain and Nuland were in Maidan and Joe Biden sat in the Ukrainian President's seat after the coup – what would the outrage be if Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov was to be seen in say Mexico or Canada? Fascists have been used by US Imperialism in the same way they use Whabhi jihadist forces in other parts of the world they want to control. Why doesn't the left call another Maidan but this time to stop the slaughter of their brothers and sisters and the children in the South and East?

Nina Potarskaya of the “Left Opposition” spoke via Skype in a very boring and uninspiring way. Duncan Chapel outlined some of her points in the Socialist Resistance website:

“Nina observed that social tensions are only increasing. In the confrontations, she explained, things have escalated into patriotic hysteria in both sides. This benefits only the oligarchs and the far right forces who have unprecedented support in society. She explained how the revolutionaries oppose the drawing of neo-Nazis into the Ukrainian government forces and also call on the citizens of Luhansk to bring down the Russian ultranationalists.”

This is an accurate account of the politics of the group which must be very careful not to take sides lest they offend their hosts, the Euro-Maidan fascists and the Kiev junta. This was further clarified when Gerry Downing quoted from the Left Opposition statement on the Odessa massacre which said: *“We are unable at the present time to name the people responsible for these murders, their organisations or groups. However, we can see the political consequences of the Odessa massacre and we cannot but see that left wing political organisations are among those that carry political responsibility for it.”* And he then asked if Nina had discovered by now who was responsible for the murder of 48 anti-fascists in the Trade Union House in Odessa? She took about five minutes to say no. Simon Pirani intervened to take even longer also to proclaim that the identity of the murderers was unknown. You can see from the extract that the Left Opposition is speculating that the anti-fascists may have killed



***And here is the emblem on the Facebook page of Pasha Vezdenetsky of the Left Opposition, it is clear that his pretensions to Trotskyism of any description are as bogus as that of Zakhar Popovych, the international fraudster who in 2003 ripped off between 12 and 20 far left groups in Britain and the US by claiming to be their Ukraine section, all at the same time!***

themselves, presumably to make the Kiev government look bad.

Of course the Left Opposition cannot say that the Maidan fascists carried out the massacre, even though the fascists themselves openly boast about it online, because it is a legal party in Kiev precisely because of its pro-Maidan stance and its defence of the Kiev government whom it wants to transform into a socialist government by “de-Nazifying” it. This act of political alchemy is deemed possible so they can still appear as leftist but also get permission from the Maidan to stand their candidates in Kiev. The fascists would allow no genuine leftists to stand in any elections; they attacked the Communist party in the parliament itself and are intent on banning it. And what candidates the Left Opposition have: Pavlo Vezdenetsky, Zakhar Popovych, Mykola Vlasov and Nina Potarska

## Brighid Ó Duinn comment on them:

As you may already know Nina Potarska's ‘comrades’ in the LO include Zakhar Popovych, a well known fraudster and Pavlo Vezdenetsky. Pavlo (unlike the USSC) doesn't bother to hide his US Imperialist motivations (a point I made when I spoke) nor his reactionary Nationalism on his FB page: [1] Note not only the icon (US-Ukrainian flag) - the first post today - “I'm going to Carpathians to learn experience of the Banderites” [2] The post of 5 July “Avakov [interior minister] and Filatov state that they didn't eliminated the column of Slavyansk militia of Girkin and let it come out from Slavyansk because there were 200 women and children in the column. So, does it mean that a column with women and children can freely come towards Kiev?” - complains the ‘left candidate’ about the fact that column of refugees was not eliminated.

The “left” cover for the USSC is the Left Opposition, a gang of fraudsters who alibi the Maidan and Kiev fascists whilst hypocritically proposing to “de-Nazify” them. The SARU supports the leftist Borotba who are heroically fighting the fascists. We have no problem supporting these genuine leftist anti-fascists against these fraudsters of the Left Opposition.

## Notes

[1] Pasha Vezdenetsky, <https://www.facebook.com/pasha.vezdenetsky?fref=ufi>

[2] Who Was Stepan Bandera?, by Norman J.W. Goda: “On January 22, 2010 Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko honoured Stepan Bandera by posthumously bestowing on him the state honour, “Hero of Ukraine... (President Viktor Yanukovich annulled the decree in January 2011 after a long legal and political struggle—GD)... Bandera, his deputies, and the Nazis shared a key obsession, namely the notion that the Jews in Ukraine were behind Communism and Stalinist imperialism and must be destroyed. “The Jews of the Soviet Union,” read a Banderist statement, “are the most loyal supporters of the Bolshevik Regime and the vanguard of Muscovite imperialism in the Ukraine.” When the Germans invaded the USSR in June 1941 and captured the East Galician capital of Lvov, Bandera's lieutenants issued a declaration of independence in his name. They further promised to work closely with Hitler, then helped to launch a pogrom that killed four thousand Lvov Jews in a few days, using weapons ranging from guns to metal poles. “We will lay your heads at Hitler's feet,” a Banderist pamphlet proclaimed to Ukrainian Jews. But whatever their disappointment with the Germans, the Banderists never disagreed with their Jewish policy in Ukraine, which eventually killed over 1.5 million Ukrainian Jews.” <http://hnn.us/article/122778>

# Russia and China are NOT Imperialist states

LCFI statement June 2014

**W**e need to tackle the ideological justification advanced by both the pro Imperialist side and the fence-sitting third campist “neither Moscow nor the US/EU/Nato but the international working class” side; that both Russia and China are Imperialist states (“Eastern Imperialism”). Therefore any conflict between either or both of them and US-dominated global Imperialism (“Western Imperialism”) is a conflict between rival Imperialist powers and therefore revolutionary socialists should support neither in that war. We should advocate revolutionary defeatism for ourselves and for the Russian/Chinese working class, i.e. they should seek the defeat of their own bourgeoisie in order to combat the imperialist chauvinism that sweeps the masses in wartime via its main conduit in modern times, the Labour and trade union bureaucracy. We content that this is fundamentally wrong, that neither Russia nor China are Imperialist powers in the Marxist sense and that therefore in any conflict between Imperialism and these states it is necessary to form an Anti Imperialist United Front with them either singly or together if both are simultaneously attacked.

The balance of forces internationally is nothing like in the periods before WWI or WWII when roughly equal Imperialist power blocs faced each other; now the economic and military power is overwhelmingly on the side of US Imperialism and its NATO allies.

Now we say that in this conflict today in the Ukraine revolutionary dual defeatism is equal to national chauvinism in western imperialist countries because neither Russia or China are Imperialist countries, and it amounts to a demand that the Russian and Chinese workers refuse to defend themselves against US aggression.

We caution newer comrades against bandying about the term “Imperialism” as groups like the AWL does in imitation to how it is used in the bourgeois mass media. In Marxist terms “Imperialism” has a precise meaning and this is the rule of finance capital. We take this quote from Trotsky in 1939, when the old semi-feudal empires of pre-WWI were in the dustbin of history, to make that point:

History has known the “imperialism” of the Roman state based on slave labor, the imperialism of feudal land-ownership, the imperialism of commercial and industrial capital, the imperialism of the Czarist monarchy, etc. The driving force behind the Moscow bureaucracy is indubitably the tendency to expand its power, its prestige, its revenues. This is the element of “imperialism” in the widest sense of the word which was a property in the past of all monarchies, oligarchies, ruling castes, medieval estates and classes. However, in contemporary literature, at least Marxist literature, imperialism is understood to mean *the expansionist policy of finance capital which has a very sharply defined economic content*. To employ the term “imperialism” for the foreign policy of the Kremlin – without elucidating exactly what this signifies – means simply to identify the policy of the Bonapartist bureaucracy with the policy of monopolistic capitalism on the basis that both one and the other utilize military force for expansion. Such identification, capable of sowing only confusion, is much more proper to petty-bourgeois democrats than to Marxists (our emphasis). [1]

## Michael Pröbsting’s damn lies and statistics

But what about economically? Michael Pröbsting of the Austrian-based RCIT has produced a big pamphlet to prove, on behalf of the whole third campist crew, how wrong we in Socialist Fight and the LCFI are and that both are imperialist. He even calls his work, *Russia as a Great Imperialist Power*, [2] with a front cover cartoon of Uncle Sam facing a very angry Russian bear which is clearly just about to



*Anti-Russian war hysteria is fuelled by those leftist who think either Russia are the aggressors in Ukraine or are as bad as the USA.*

rip his head off. We would suggest that this is an illegitimate use of imperialist propaganda in a self-proclaimed Marxist magazine.

The work is replete with extensive charts and tables to statistically prove his point that Russia and China are the new rising Imperialist powers about to dominate the planet and the USA is the declining power, soon about to be eclipsed by these bear-like and yellow menaces, which are our own and everybody’s enemies and the real danger. Much of the work proves only that these are unequal societies, as were the former deformed and degenerated workers’ states, though not anything like as unequal as their successor capitalist states are now. But even the more relevant statistics and charts are one sided and very misleading (damn lies and statistics) as to the real economic relationships between Russia and China and global imperialism and who poses the military dangers.

Pröbsting says:

In sum, in less than two decades a number of Russian monopolies have been formed which exert a total grip on the country’s economy. Russia’s capitalism is probably more monopolized than most other imperialist economies. As we will see below in more detail, these monopolies are involved in all forms of businesses – starting with oil and gas extraction, metal mining and manufacturing, and up to finance. Lenin’s definition of an imperialist power is obviously applicable when it comes to Russia’s monopoly capital. [3]

But we must ask who owns these “Russian monopolies”? The energy giant Gazprom is just over 50% state owned but most of the rest of the shares are in the hands of foreign capital. And most of the rest of the major “monopolies” in Russia and China which are listed as “state owned” are considerably less than 50% state owned, 25% being typical and as low as 13% in some cases. Of course western imperialists complain bitterly that this is grossly unfair, that they should be allowed free access to all shares and not just to the “B” shares that are freely floated. And Pröbsting can point to foreign direct investment (FDI) inward and outward and the “round tripping” of oligarch’s funds to Cyprus etc so they can reinvest them in Russia tax free but always he avoids the entire global picture in his eagerness to make his imperialist point.

For instance China and Japan are by far the two largest holders of US government stocks and bonds, which they are obliged to buy to offload their dollar surpluses and keep open the US consumer market, by far the largest in the world. [4] But these stocks and bonds only pay between 1% to 2% interest whereas the FDI of the US in



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Russia and China yields over 20% interest. [5] And the dollar as the trading currency for not only oil but most other commodities in the planet gives the US a huge advantage; some would say the most important of all its holds over the global markets. The continued threat to this global monopoly can be reasonably designated as the prime cause for the war against Iraq in 2003, against Libya in 2011 and against Ukraine in 2014. If the US loses this immense advantage their empire's days are indeed numbered.

Combined with that are the successive bouts of Quantitative Easing, i.e. devaluating the dollar which reduces the value of the dollar holdings of these two countries in particular, but also Japan, the Gulf States, Brazil and others. And there is the question of the gold holdings. It is rumoured that the US looted Libya's gold reserves at the end of the war in 2011, it has not returned to Germany its gold bullion as Merkel requested in the end of 2012 [6] and it has just looted the entire gold reserve of the Ukraine on 7 March 2014, some \$1.8 billion worth. [7] By these mechanisms the whole world is forced to subsidise the US economy.

A large portion of that subsidy from unwilling foreign trading partners goes on the US military which in turn is used to menace and/or invade any country that seriously threatens that monopoly. US military spending is kept high by the powerful military industrial complex (MIC) which President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned of in 1961:

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence -- economic, political, even spiritual -- is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. [8]

The MIC is now far more powerful than they were in 1961 and every US Senator and almost all Representatives are in the pay of the MIC lobby, which needs constant wars to keep profits and shareholders' dividends high and their employees in work, as Eric Zuesse noted above.

Pröbsting says:

Today the Russian state-capitalist sector is crucial for the economy. It plays a decisive role among many Russian monopolies. For example, the state has retained Golden Shares in 181 firms. 15 State-backed companies account for 62% of Russia's stock market.

But according the *Russia beyond the Headlines*:

Foreign investors continue to have a decisive influence over the Russian stock market. According to Sberbank KIB analysts, they own about 70 percent of free floating Russian shares. But Russian investors are still wary of the stock market after the 2008-2009 crash. One third of investors active in Russia are U.S. funds; another third are funds from continental Europe; and the remaining third are U.K. funds. The biggest foreign investor (more than \$5 billion) has turned out to be the Norwegian Government Pension Fund, followed by Vanguard Emerging Markets Stock Index Fund (about \$4.7 billion) and the Oppenheimer fund (with slightly less than \$3 billion invested in Russian stocks). [9]

This makes quite clear that far from being Imperialist powers both Russia and China are no more than semi-colonial countries, albeit very large and advanced ones. They are not linked to the global web



**Ato em solidariedade à resistência de Donbass  
Fora EUA, UE, OTAN e seus nazistas!  
Por um governo de conselhos operários na Ucrânia!**



of US Imperialism in the same way as minor imperialisms like Holland and Belgium or allied to it in a more equal though still subordinate way like Japan, Germany, Italy, Spain and Canada. No, they are in the upper level of semi-colonial countries and recognise themselves as such by allying as the BRICS; Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

## Conclusion

We have outlined the development of three distinct current within the far left, the right which has taken a pro-Maidan position on the Ukraine, the most extreme examples are the signatories of the *Statement of the Ukraine Socialist Solidarity Campaign of Chris Ford*; Labour Representation Committee, Revolutionary Socialism 21, A World To Win, and Socialist Resistance (Fourth International) and a few more internationally like the CWI and the LIT (FI). The centre ground we have listed, some of whom had shifted sharply to the left over the Ukraine and those more consistent revolutionary Trotskyists who have taken a strong anti Imperialist line on Libya and Syria from the beginning. We have outlined our theoretical, economic and political rejection of the theories of the international class struggle being driven by the inter-Imperialist conflicts between Western US-led Imperialism and Eastern Imperialism of Russia and China. This includes even Venezuela where the conflict is the result of the incursions of China into the US backyard as the Liaison Committee of Communists ridiculously propose. [10]

We have proposed an international solidarity campaign to defend what is now the new Novorossiia Union of eastern Ukraine and its organised working class led by the Borotba Union and the Communist Party of the Ukraine. We have also proposed an Anti Imperialist United Front with the "devil and his grandmother" including Putin himself as the demands that working class should make on Russia to defend it against the fascist onslaught from Kiev. Lastly this orienta-



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tion is primarily designed to build a new revolutionary socialist working class leadership as part of a reformed Fourth International.

- Defend the Novorossiia Union against the fascist attacks, smash the illegal Kiev regime installed by the USA/CIA!
- Form armed workers Militias to defend the premises and organisations of the working class!
- No faith in the corrupt oligarchs, nationalize their factories, transport systems and land!
- Smash the reactionary, pro-Western imperialist regime in Kiev!
- For an anti Imperialist United Front with all forces now fighting the fascists!
- Demand material assistance from Putin in arms and troops to defeat the US global conspiracy against Russia and China, Syria, Iran and Venezuela!
- Forward to the building of a Ukrainian revolutionary socialist leadership, a section of the reformed Fourth International!

## Notes

- [1] Leon Trotsky, *In Defence of Marxism, Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR*, (October 1939), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1939/10/again.htm>
- [2] *Russia as a Great Imperialist Power, The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics*, By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18 March 2014, [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)
- [3] *Russia as a Great Imperialist Power, The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics*, By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18 March 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>
- [4] *Major foreign holders of treasury securities in billions of dollar, holdings at end of period March 2014*, 1. China, Mainland, 1272, 2. Japan, 1200, 3. Belgium, 381.4 (note the huge gap between China and Japan and number 3, Belgium). <http://www.treasury.gov/ticdata/Publish/mfh.txt>
- [5] *Understanding China's High Investment Rate and FDI Levels: A Comparative Analysis of the Return to Capital in China, the United States, and Japan Introduction*, Wenkai Sun, Renmin University of China Xiuke Yang, Peking University Geng Xiao, Columbia University (undated but seems to have been written in 2009)
- “Over the last decade and a half, China maintained an investment rate higher than that of more advanced economies, including both Japan and the United States. Over the same period, foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows to the Chinese economy grew at an average rate of 19.97 percent per year, increasing from \$3.5 billion in 1990 to \$92.4 billion in 2008



...What made China so attractive to investors? In the past few years, this question has been heavily debated. China's National Development and Reform Commission (2005) concluded that rapid industrialization, a high savings rate, a low consumption rate, and a low efficiency of investment led to the high investment rate. Subsequent studies by Li (2007), Hu (2007), Yu (2008) and many others have further explored the high investment rate and the low consumption rate in China. Fan (2009) discussed the same topic, comparing the political systems of China and the United States, and concluded that China's local governments always paid more attention to the interests of capital and less to those of labor, resulting in a high investment rate

and a low consumption rate.

## ...Return to Capital in China

As shown in figure 1, the return to capital in China varied between 23.17 percent in 1978 and 21.82 percent in 2006, averaging over 20 percent during this 28-year period. However, there was a drastic fluctuation in the return to capital in China between 1992 and 1994, with a sharp increase in 1993 and a rapid decline in 1994. The spike in 1993 was likely due to a sharp increase in the growth rate of investment goods prices in 1993, which rose from 15.52 percent in 1992 to 29.35 percent in 1993. The rapid drawdown in the return to capital in China in 1994 was likely due to a rapid decline in the growth rate of investment goods prices in 1994, which fell from 29.35 percent in 1993 to 10.25 percent in 1994.”

United States International Trade Commission, *Journal of International Commerce and Economics*. [http://www.usitc.gov/journals/06\\_SunYangXiao\\_UnderstandingInvestmentFDI.pdf](http://www.usitc.gov/journals/06_SunYangXiao_UnderstandingInvestmentFDI.pdf)

[6] Silver Doctors *Where is the German Gold?* <http://www.silverdoctors.com/where-is-the-german-gold/>

[7] *Ukraine's Gold Reserves Secretly Flown Out and Confiscated by the New York Federal Reserve? The Spoils of War and Regime Change*, By Prof Michel Chossudovsky, Global Research, April 19, 2014. <http://www.globalresearch.ca/ukraines-gold-reserves-secretely-flown-out-and-confiscated-by-the-new-york-federal-reserve/5373446>

[8] Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Speech on Military Industrial Complex*, 1961: <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/indust.html>

[9] *Source: Russia Beyond the Headlines* - January 22, 2014 Anna Kuchma, [http://rbth.com/business/2014/01/22/who\\_owns\\_the\\_russian\\_stock\\_market\\_33437.html](http://rbth.com/business/2014/01/22/who_owns_the_russian_stock_market_33437.html)

[10] Liaison Committee of Communists: May 12014: International Workers' Day Socialism or Death! For workers to survive, capitalism must die!

“The two imperialist blocs led by the US and China are engaged in a life and death struggle for survival. They now pit workers against one another from Bosnia to Venezuela and threaten a new world war. The threat of such a war is most evident in the build up of US military encirclement of China in the Pacific. Never before has the alternative “Socialism or Death” carried the same urgency.”

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/220377248/MAY-DAY-Statement-Socialism-or-Death>



# Eight Indices of US-led World Imperialism

Socialist Fight 23/7/14

**1. The US Dollar:** It is the trading currency for oil and almost every other commodity in the world. However there is a challenge now; Wiki: “the New Development Bank... is (a) multilateral development bank operated by the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) as an alternative to the existing World Bank and International Monetary Fund. “ The position of the dollar has given the US an enormous economic and political advantage over its rivals. Wars against Iraq, Libya, and Ukraine today are primarily launched to protect this privileged position which enables it to rob every other nation. This is the main driving force towards WWII.

**2. The world's leading financial centres:** New York tops the list with London very close behind in second-place followed by Hong Kong and Singapore. according to the Global Financial Centres Index 15, March 2014. New York and London have dominated global finance for the past couple of centuries. [http://www.longfinance.net/images/GFCI15\\_15March2014.pdf](http://www.longfinance.net/images/GFCI15_15March2014.pdf) *Moscow is 73 in this index, although China has three at nos. 3, 18 and 49.*

**3. Top 2,000 multi-nationals:** We have abstracted these details from Forbes Global 2000 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forbes\\_Global\\_2000](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forbes_Global_2000)) for 2014: 1, United States 564, 2 Japan 225, 3 China 207, 4 United Kingdom, 91, 5 France, 66, 6 South Korea, 61, 7 Canada, 57, 8 India, 54, 9 Germany, 52, 10 Switzerland, 48, 11 Taiwan, 47, 12 Australia, 36, 13 Italy, 30, 14 Russia, 28, 15 Netherlands, 27, 16 Spain, 27, 17 Sweden, 26, 18 Brazil, 25, 19 Saudi Arabia, 20, 20 Ireland, 19

In 2004 when the list first appeared the US had almost 1,000 in the top 2,000. The decline is largely due to US transnationals locating their HQs abroad for tax avoidance purposes. Ireland's 19 companies apparently place it in the same league as Saudi Arabia, a ridiculous comparison. In reality up to half of those 'Irish' companies are not really Irish at all except in name. Its top company in 2013 was Accenture plc; “engaged in providing management consulting, technology and outsourcing services”. It was 318th with a market capitalisation of \$53.34 Billion. It had 257,000 employees in 120 countries, only 1,300 in Ireland. It is a US transnational, of course.

And not only does the US have all these companies located abroad but the US dominate many others by virtue of its stock holdings. Some statistics on this would reveal the true nature of US imperialism's domination of almost every aspect of the trade, commerce and lives of the majority of population of the planet. And those it does not fully dominate it demonises, organises coups and internal wars against for regime change and/or it bombs and invades them.

Finance capital is interlinked in a global web of dominance spreading out from Wall Street and the City of London. If we take, for example, the role of Swiss banking it is not a secret that it has strong links with the City of London. Also important are the so-called 'tax havens' and money laundering centres, Luxembourg, Jersey, Guernsey, the Cayman Islands, the British Virgin Islands, etc.

Finance capital plays a major role in the Spanish banking sector for example – there is the curious phenomenon of its relations to the Basque and Catalan banks, which are not really Spanish and behind much of the separatist agitation. Finance capital of British origin plays a big role in maintaining Gibraltar as a tax haven.

**4. Top Stock Exchanges 2013:** Here are the statistic for the top ten stock exchanges (\$US billions) 1. NYSE Euronext, United States/Europe, \$14,085. 2. NASDAQ OMX Group, United States/Europe, \$4,582. 3. Tokyo Stock Exchange, Japan \$3,478. 4. London Stock Exchange, \$3,396. 5. Hong Kong Stock Exchange, \$2,831. 6. Shanghai Stock Exchange, \$2,547. 7. TMX Group, Canada, \$2,058.



*Two supercarriers in 2012, the USS Abraham Lincoln and the USS John C. Stennis, two of the ten nuclear-powered Nimitz-class aircraft supercarriers in service with the United States Navy.*

8. Deutsche Börse, Germany, \$1,486. 9. Australian Securities Exchange, \$1,386. 10. Bombay Stock Exchange, \$1,263. Note the two US stock exchanges are as big as the next eight combined; with its allies it is absolutely dominant. (*Moscow is not there at all. Although China is at nos. 5 and 6, but who owns these Chinese companies?*).

**5. Ranking by Gross Domestic Product:** The ranking of countries by Gross Domestic Product, this time the top 10: (Millions of \$US), World \$70,201,920. 1. United States \$14,991,300, 2. China \$7,203,784, 3. Japan \$5,870,357. 4. Germany \$3,604,061. 5. France \$2,775,518. 6. Brazil \$2,476,651. 7. United Kingdom, 2,429,184. 8. Italy \$2,195,937. 9. India \$1,897,608. 10. Russia \$1,857,770.

*Although China is No. 2 that must be seen in perspective of what is the per capita gross domestic product. China is 93 and Russia is 58 on that index.*

**6. Biggest military expenditure 2013:** The top 15 for military expenditure. (\$US billions): 1. United States \$682.0. 2. China \$166.0. 3. Russia \$90.7. 4. United Kingdom \$60.8. 5. Japan \$59.3. 6. France \$58.9. 7. Saudi Arabia \$56.7. 8. India \$46.1. 9. Germany \$45.8. 10. Italy \$34.0. 11. Brazil \$33.1. 12. South Korea \$31.7. 13. Australia \$26.2. 14. Canada \$22.5. 15. Turkey \$18.2. *Note, US expenditure is equal to the combined total of all the other 14 on the list, all Nato or close US allies apart from Russia and China.* [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_countries\\_by\\_military\\_expenditures](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_military_expenditures)

**7. Fleets and aircraft carriers:** The US has five battleship fleets, the Second Fleet in the Atlantic, the Third Fleet in the Eastern Pacific, the Fifth Fleet in the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean, the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and the Seventh Fleet in the Western Pacific. No other nation gets a look in here. This is a list of the aircraft carriers in service in 2013: *United States 10*, Italy 2, United Kingdom, 1, France 1, *Russia 1*, Spain 1, India 1, Brazil 1, *China 1* and Thailand 1.

**8. Military bases:** “The US operates and/or controls between 700 and 800 military bases Worldwide... (there is a) presence of US military personnel in 156 countries. The US Military has bases in 63 countries. Brand new military bases have been built since September 11, 2001 in seven countries. In total, there are 255,065 US military personnel deployed Worldwide.” (<http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-worldwide-network-of-us-military-bases/5564>). In addition, other NATO countries, such as France, the UK, etc. have a further 200 military locations within the network of global military control. The biggest “host” countries are those that once lost a major war in which the US was involved. Germany, Italy, Japan and Korea are the four biggest ‘hosts’. France and the UK mainly have bases in the remains of their colonial empires. (<http://www.tni.org/primer/foreign-military-bases-and-global-campaign-close-them>)

*Russia currently has five military facilities in former Soviet republics (down from six since it incorporated the Crimea) and India has one in Tajikistan. China has no US-style overseas bases.*

# The downing of the Boeing 777 in the Ukraine

Statement by the Liaison Committee for the Fourth International July 2014

**A farcical terrorist crime of decadent Imperialism used to blame Russia and the NovoRússia resistance!**

**One more crime against humanity perpetrated by the US! Who benefits from the downing of the civil aircraft?**

**For unconditional defence of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist resistance!**

## **The CIA have the knowhow in “false flag” attacks to blame their adversary**

The downing of the Boeing 777 flight MH17 Malaysian aircraft while it was overflying the airspace of East Ukrainian represents the latest chapter of the imperialist war to crush the anti-fascist resistance of NovoRússia and close in on the Russian Federation. Almost 300 people were killed in the attack, including 80 children and over 100 scientists, experts in HIV, who were to address an International Congress on AIDS in Australia. It is likely that the discovery of a cure for AIDS may have been delayed by this disaster.

The imperialists who accuses the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist resistance of shooting down the civilian plane have the know-how and are historically known for falsifying who the author are of “simulated” attacks, also known as “false flag” operations, to justify hundreds of military adventures. Since the inception of the US hegemony over the globe this has been that way. That’s how the coup d’état against the Iranian nationalist Mossadegh was organised in 1953, Obama himself confessed in June 2009 that this was a CIA frame up [1]. So it was in the Gulf of Tonkin incident, used by the US to launch the war against Viet Nam in 1964 [2]. So it was with Bush senior and his invention of alleged weapons of mass destruction held by Saddam Hussein to justify the invasion of Iraq in 2003 [3]. That’s how the Sarin chemical weapons attack against the civilian population was conducted by CIA mercenaries in Syria, and was used by Obama to accuse the Assad Government to justify a bombing which failed materialise. This latest Sarin episode, which occurred in 2013, has already been widely debunked by dossiers of Wikileaks and the former CIA agent Ray McGovern [4]. In short, attacks such as this are part of the policy of the imperialist State to maintain their stranglehold on the globe.

Particularly in Ukraine, imperialist policy is to conduct a recolonisation offensive that requires the creation of myths that demonise a people who voted democratically for self-determination in three provinces and only want to live free from the parasitism of the European Union and NATO boots by uniting with Russia. The downing of the plane is just the latest episode that featured a popular rebellion that gave fraudulent cover for a coup directed by openly Nazi parties which imposed a fascist dictatorship camouflaged by a false election. This gave a mandate to a tyrant, who is one of the richest oligarchs in the country, to continue massacres like that of 48 anti-fascists on 2 May, 2014 in the House of the Trade Unions in Odessa and to continue the persecution, torture and murder of the Russian majority population, poor Jews, Gypsies and resistance organizations such as the Ukraine Communist party and Borotba. They are bombing defenceless populations with chemical weapons, etc to achieve this.

## **Who benefits? Who cares about the downing of the Malaysian flight in Ukraine?**

The downing of the Boeing 777 occurred at a difficult time for the United States. These days, the Eurasian core around China and Russia are strengthened and are in some ways expanding their economic and diplomatic shield with the BRICS Summit. This took place in Brazil and is being followed by a constellation of countries from Iran, to Syria, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Argentina. The creation of the Bank of the BRICS may well dedollarize world trade and it drops like a bomb into the trade war which may well lead to World War III. Added to commercial attacks this is in fact nothing more nor less than a limited economic autonomy for cheaper commercial transactions by a handful of semi-colonial countries around the globe. It is another important movement by the Eurasian block to challenges imperialism like the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, the new shipping channel in Cen-



*Wreckage of Boeing 777 flight MH17*

tral America. Even in the 21st century, in the “space age”, the sea lanes remain the backbone of global trade.

There also highlights that the European imperialism is reticent blindly to follow the US in decline by isolating Russia because they are tied together by through dozens of multinationals like BMW, Siemens, Auchan, Raiffaisen Bank, BASF, etc who are thriving in this relationship. Even with all the American propaganda around the shale revolution, the EU refuses to replace the Russian oil and gas as an energy source it has a value at least 25% less than Russian oil and gas and is twice as expensive. At the last Energy Summit in Brussels, the European Commission ruled out any resort to the use of an alternative to Russian gas in the near future. The US have been doing its utmost to keep the EU in its orbit including using tragic political facts like the downing of the Malaysian plane full of European passengers.

Therefore before there was any investigation into the cause of the tragedy the White House, the mass media and everybody linked to the great imperialist capital, began accusing Russia and the NovoRússia resistance of a tragedy that the history and the geopolitical interests of NATO put US intelligence agents and their puppets of Kiev in the frame as the prime suspects.

There is also a suspicion that the Malaysian plane was hit by mistake, the goal appeared to be Putin’s presidential plane that are visibly identical in size and paint and overflew the same airspace at the time. [5]

The puppet government of Kiev was also suffering setbacks in the civil war. After losing some battles, the resistance is entrenched in Donetsk and has imposed important military casualties, bringing down military planes from the armed forces of Ukraine. It was also important to create the impression that the resistance had the ability to bring down airplanes, power that the Ukrainian Army has in much larger scale.

Another indication that the fascists in Kiev are behind the Malaysian plane crash is in revelation that the civilian aircraft was escorted by a Ukrainian military fighter plane before it “disappear”, having previously received the order to fly lower, as reported by the own Malaysian aviation authority: “MH17 filed a flight plan requesting to fly at 35,000ft throughout Ukrainian airspace. This is close to the ‘optimum’ altitude.

However, an aircraft’s altitude in flight is determined by air traffic control on the ground. Upon entering Ukrainian airspace, MH17 was instructed by Ukrainian air traffic control to fly at 33,000ft.” [6]. Guiding a civil aircraft which was not about to land on Ukrainian territory to fly lower in a civil war zone is clear evidence of a criminal manoeuvre by imperialism.

The People’s Republic of Donetsk allowed four Ukrainian investigators to come to the scene of the accident and promised the same concession to experts of the OSCE and other international organizations. A day after the disaster, the Ukrainian Army continued their punitive attacks on the people of the East despite the proposal to establish a temporary cease-fire in order not to disturb the investigations into the causes of the plane crash and to recover the bodies. However the Ukrainian Army took advantage of the



# The downing of the Boeing 777 in the Ukraine

previous day's trauma and the granting of entry to the international observers and unleashed a bloody new offensive on the population of NovaRússia. [7]

Another "coincidence" was the fact that on the same day as the tragic downing of the Boeing from Malaysia Airlines, which attracted the attention of the world news media, Israel, another neo-Nazi agent of imperialism, invaded Gaza by land.

## For the unconditional defence of inspiring NovoRússia!

Even in the face of all these clues that point to the agents of American imperialism as an author of this crime against humanity, a lot of information still needs to be revealed. Up till now the European Governments are partners with imperialism in supporting the Government of Kiev and are uncomfortably forced and intimidated into accusing Russia and the NovoRússia resistance on this attack. But even if, exceptionally in this case these responsible was not imperialism, revolutionaries must still stand unconditionally in defense of the resistance in the Ukraine in the fight to defeat the war and war propaganda of imperialism against the oppressed people of NovaRússia. We advocate an anti-imperialist and anti-imperialist united front with Russia for the crushing of these NATO agents and fight for a Soviet and Worker's Government in Ukraine! For those who know the modus operandi of the capitalist empire there's nothing new under the sun:

The appearance of a Washington operation is clear. All the warmongers were ready on cue. US Vice President Joe Biden declared that the airliner was "blown out of the sky." It was "not an accident." Why would a person without an agenda be so declarative prior to having any information? Clearly, Biden was not implying that it was Kiev that blew the airliner out of the sky. Biden was at work in advance of any evidence blaming Russia. Indeed, the way Washington operates, it will pile on blame until it needs no evidence. Senator John McCain jumped on the supposition that there were US citizens aboard to call for punitive actions against Russia before the passenger list and the cause of the airliner's fate are known. The "investigation" is being conducted by Washington's puppet regime in Kiev. We already know what the conclusion will be. The probability is high that we are going to have more fabricated evidence, such as the fabricated evidence presented by US Secretary of State Colin Powell to the UN "proving" the existence of the non-existent Iraqi "weapons of mass destruction." Washington has succeeded with so many lies, deceptions and crimes that it believes that it can always succeed. At this time as we write, we have no reliable information about the airliner, but the Roman question always pertains: "Who benefits?" There is no conceivable motive for separatists to shoot down an airliner, but Washington did have a motive—to frame-up Russia—and possibly a second motive.

Among the reports or rumours there is one that says Putin's presidential plane flew a similar route to that of the Malaysian airliner within 37 minutes of one another. This report has led to speculation that Washington decided to rid itself of Putin and mistook the Malaysian airliner for Putin's jet. RT reports that the two airplanes are similar in appearance. <http://rt.com/news/173672-malaysia-plane-crash-putin/> Before you say Washington is too sophisticated to mistake one airliner for another, keep in mind that when Washington shot down an Iranian airliner over Iranian air space, the US Navy claimed that it thought the 290 civilians that it murdered were in an Iranian fighter jet, a F-14 Tomcat fighter, a US-made fighter that was a mainstay of the US Navy. If the US Navy cannot tell its own workhorse fighter aircraft from an Iranian airliner, clearly the US can confuse two airliners that the RT report shows appear very similar. This was not the first armed criminal attack which was used by imperialism to attack its opponents. As the imperialist beast is in decline and dying it tends to create more and more fakes like this. For example the murder of the three

young Jews was used by Israel to unleash the current offensive against the Palestinians. They are desperate and heinous acts yes, but imperialism enjoys the immense advantage of having a sophisticated global system of information handling and falsification of reality in its favour, one immensely more powerful than the one used by Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister of Propaganda in Nazi Germany, in a single country.

## Important political mobilisation at the Ukrainian consulate at Sao Paulo against the fascist government of Kiev

In this context, the Communist League, along with other organizations (PCO, CCR, RC) conducted an internationalist political mobilisation at the Ukrainian Consulate in Sao Paulo on July 16, 2014. The mobilisation was supported and had public greetings from the British Socialist Fight, from the Argentinean Bolshevik Militant Tendency, from the Brazilian Lenin Collective and even greeting from a retired Cuban construction worker.

At the protest the main Ukraine-Palestinian slogans was: "For the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifascist resistance!" and the posters were bilingual, in Russian and Portuguese, we had good musical backing and we got on the solidarity of workers of the building where the Consulate is located. However, the LC and other participants in the activity opposed handing any petition or document to the Ukrainian Consul, since it does not recognize as legitimate the current Government, not legitimised nor place any illusions in the method of negotiations with fascists.

## Notes: (in Portuguese)

1. <http://lcligacomunista.blogspot.com.br/2011/05/da-operacao-ajax-odisseia-do-amanhecer.html>
2. [http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Incidente\\_do\\_Golfo\\_de\\_Tonkin](http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Incidente_do_Golfo_de_Tonkin)
3. <http://acervo.estadao.com.br/noticias/acervo,com-justificativa-falsa-iraque-era-invadido-ha-10-anos,8951,0.htm>
4. [http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06DAMASCUS5399\\_a.html#efmBA8BJR](http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06DAMASCUS5399_a.html#efmBA8BJR); <http://cidadedeminas.blogspot.com.br/2013/12/obama-mentiu-sobre-ataque-quimico-na.html>; <http://noticias.terra.com.br/mundo/disturbios-no-mundo-arabe/ex-analista-cia-fabricou-evidencia-para-atrair-eua-a-guerra-na-siria,225ff0ce78601410VgnVCM3000009acceb0aRCRD.html>
5. <http://actualidad.rt.com/actualidad/view/134289-objetivo-misil-ucrania-avion-presidente-rusia-putin>
6. <http://www.malaysiaairlines.com/my/en/site/mh17.html>
7. <http://actualidad.rt.com/actualidad/view/134283-tragedia-avion-malasio>



*Defending the Peoples Republics*

# Reply to Steve Ballard's "Anti-Downing": baseless slanders and vile innuendo with a malevolent witch-hunting intent

By Gerry Downing 8 July 2014 (abridged, Full article on our blog: <http://socialistfight.com/>)

Steve Ballard replaced Graham Durham as the London Organiser of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) last year and has done precisely no organising since. The overwhelming vote to sack Graham and replace him with this charlatan was motivated by a desire to silence a strident critic of the LRC leadership's failure to fight the cuts in the Local Authorities in any meaningful way. Durham has the authority to challenge the Labour party cutters because he was debarred when he defied the cuts himself as a Labour Councillor in Brent in the middle 80s at a time when personal bankruptcy could be imposed on councillors and they could be surcharged for the loss of revenue for which the District Auditor deemed them responsible by failing to make cuts; many in Liverpool and Lambeth suffered that fate. The LRC leaders needed a figure that would make no further trouble for them in going along with the cuts. Ballard fitted the bill perfectly. [1]

The allegations of support for violence and slander against John McDonnell MP (I have apparently called "shame on socialist MP John McDonnell" – where?) put forward by Ballard have to be taken in the context of my support for the campaign Solidarity with the Antifascist in Ukraine and the strong stance taken by the majority of the Brent and Harrow LRC in defence of the organised working class in eastern Ukraine who are under a vicious assault by the Ukraine regime installed by the CIA in a fascist-led coup. The purpose of the military attack and reign of white terror against the Borotba anti-fascist organisation and the Communist party is to impose the EU austerity measure on the Ukraine. Shamefully whole sections of the British and international left are supporting them, including the LRC leadership. [2]

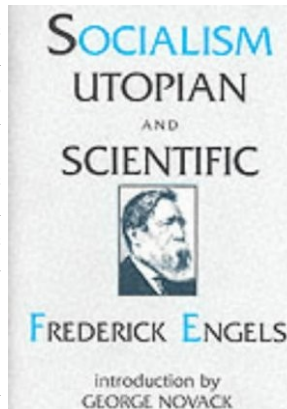
## Sweeping assertion and violence

The essence of his attack on my political and moral outlook is contained in the following sweeping historical assessment of the Enlightenment (or more precisely his understanding of Immanuel Kant's take on it) and my rejection of the supposed final arbiter of the great movement, Ludwig Feuerbach:

In his 1788 Critique of Pure Reason, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) reasoned that enlightenment — the repudiation of political violence — depends on enough people being able to distinguish self-righteousness from scientifically-verifiable necessity. In his 1827 Philosophy of Right, Georg Hegel (1770–1831) justified liberals' use of political violence to overthrow religious authorities, by reasoning that religious authorities are ideological and therefore irrational. In his 1843 Principles of the Philosophy of the Future Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872) reasoned that Hegel's justification for liberals' use of secular political violence will entrench endless political violence. According to Feuerbach, 'true' socialism will only be possible when enough people throughout the world become sufficiently enlightened to exercise their collective non-violent authority to historically eradicate political violence as a matter of scientifically-verifiable necessity. What makes Gerry Downing's approach noteworthy is the intransigence of his disregard for Feuerbach's thesis, just like Herr Dühring in 1877.

Frederick Engels had a far better shot at it and came to the opposite conclusion:

The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists. They recognized no external authority of any kind whatever. Religion, natural science, society, political institutions – everything was subjected to the most unsparing criticism: everything must justify its existence before the judgment-



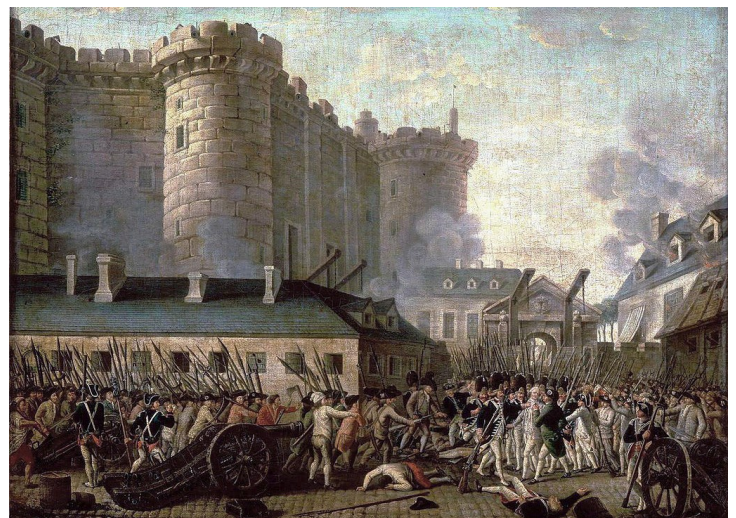
seat of reason or give up existence. Reason became the sole measure of everything. [3]

And that revolution was a very violent affair indeed, as all social revolutions are of necessity because reason alone can make no fundamental headway against entrenched class privileges. I have no hesitation in defending the liberating violence of the French Revolution against the reactionary violence of the Ancien Régime.

Without the leadership of that great revolutionary lion Maximilien Robespierre (1758–1794) and his Reign of Terror against the aristocracy and the conciliators revolutionary France would have fallen to another orgy of counter-revolutionary violence and the forward march

of humanity from the barbarism of class society to the social and economic egalitarianism of the communist future would have been thrown back perhaps for centuries. This was the fate of revolutionary France so often the past beginning with the crushing of the Cathars and the destruction of the great civilisation that was the First Renaissance in southern France in 1244 by the Pope and the 'northern French barbarians' as recounted so well by the Russian author Zoé Oldenbourg in Massacre at Montségur (the so-called Albigenian Crusade) [4] to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572 [5] and countless others.

Without the Reign of Terror and the rule of the masses the great victory at Valmy would not have been possible; when Robespierre wheeled out madam guillotine the citizens of Paris knew the revolution was in earnest at last, they shouldered the arms provided by the new government and rushed to reinforce and revolutionise the French army at Valmy. The tune and words of the Marseillaise were heard for the first time and one cannon exchange decided the battle; the troops of the Austrian general the Duke of Brunswick were just too sympathetic to the revolutionary message. The French Generals Dumouriez and Kellermann defeated the reactionary forces because of that violence. Germany's great author and thinker, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who witnessed the great world historical battle, summed it up thus: "From this place and from this day forth begins a new era in the history of the world and you can all say that you were present at its birth."



*The fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789, no apology for the legitimate and liberating violence of the oppressed.*



# Reply to Steve Ballard's "Anti-Downing"

And whilst respectable middle class England were being fanned into righteous outrage at the 'barbarism' of the French by the likes of the Irishman Edmund Burke at the 40,000 "victims" of the six years of the revolution, the vast majority of whom fell arms in hand fighting for the cause of vile reaction, that same petty bourgeoisie and that same Irishman did not turn a hair at the 20,000 revolutionaries slaughtered in Ireland, mainly in north county Wexford, by their own Redcoats in the Autumn of 1798 ("when soft winds shook the barley"), most of whom were massacred with appalling barbarism [6] fighting for the great liberating ideals of the French Revolution in Ireland.

Further in my defence of the violence of the oppressed I will quote from Tom Barry's *Guerrilla Days in Ireland*, which I first read as a teenager. Here he recounts the execution of 16 spies and informers in West Cork in 1920 and unapologetically notes the success of this operation in sharply reducing the number of IRA volunteers assassinated by the British army:

There can be no doubt as to why the death roll of the West Cork IRA dropped so amazingly. It was solely because British terror was met by a not less effective IRA counter-terror. We were now hard, cold and ruthless as our enemies had been since hostilities began. The British were met with their own weapons (and better soldiers—GD). They had gone down in the mire to destroy us and our nation, and down after them we had to go to stop them. [7]

And Barry's defence applies to all revolutions and uprisings of the oppressed to the present day Donbas in the Ukraine and the later and present day IRA also. Even if it was not Gerry Adams that ordered Jean McConville's execution in December 1972 and making no judgement on whether a mistake or mistakes were made in this case or in others, self-preservation meant that someone at IRA HQ had to give the order for the executions of spies and informers in the north of Ireland at the height of the troubles and brave volunteers had to carry out those orders or they all would have been murdered by the British secret service or their allies, the Loyalist death squads. As in West Cork in 1920 this difficult decision was forced on the IRA by the logic of the war itself; it was that or surrender.

This brutal reality may appal scurvy pacifists but with Trotsky we Marxists never equate the violence of the slave with that of the slave owner; that of the oppressor with that of the oppressed:

A slave-owner who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning or violence breaks the chains – let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality! After the Paris Commune had been drowned in blood and the reactionary knaves of the whole world dragged its banner in the filth of vilification and slander, there were not a few democratic Philistines who, adapting themselves to reaction, slandered the Communards for shooting 64 hostages headed by the Paris archbishop. Marx did not hesitate a moment in defending this bloody act of the Commune... "...the Commune, to protect their [the captives'] lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versailles. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which (the Irishman—GD) MacMahon's Praetorians celebrated their entry into Paris? [8]

So to conclude we are as steadfast today in defending the revolutionary violence of the Donbas and Gaza against the neo-fascist of Kiev and Tel Aviv as we are in defending the revolutionary violence of the oppressed in the past. And that is the reality of today's capitalism and Imperialism. For Ballard the kingdom of reason established by Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach represents the highest form of



**Tom Barry, just 22 years old when he lead his untested 36 riflemen into the Kilmichael ambush on 28 November 1920, never yielded in his defence of the legitimacy of the violence of the oppressed.**

thought, to reject it is to slip into barbarism. We say barbarism consists precisely in this rule of the bourgeoisie, seen today in Gaza and the Donbas. Ballard's claimed mentor, Frederick Engels exposed this reality:

We know today that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this eternal Right found its realization in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, the Contrat Social of Rousseau, came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the 18th century could not, no more than their predecessors, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch. [9]

## Notes

[1] The following Facebook comment by Micheal de Burca sums up Ballard's piece neatly (of course I never said or wrote that silly statement he attributed to me): Micheal de Burca: 'We are the only real leaders; all other leaders are shameful impostors'. The words of a megalomaniac put in quotation marks to indicate that they were written by Gerry Downing. Unlike Downing's intransigent dictatorial approach, Gardner's "polemical analysis" is the result of hundreds of discussions. Fair's fair though, the National Shop Stewards Network and Fourth International can't just allow any old intransigent challenge to the "righteousness of McDonnell" from dissident bus drivers - especially if they disregard Feuerbach's repudiation of Hegel who was as everybody knows a supporter of political violence ..... lol malevolent drivels sums it up alright.

[2] See LRC London Nos 1759 and 1760.

[3] Anti-Dühring by Frederick Engels 1877, Introduction, General, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1877/anti-duhring/introduction.htm>

[4] Zoé Oldenbourg Massacre at Montségur, Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1961

[5] Bartholomew's Day Massacre [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St.\\_Bartholomew%27s\\_Day\\_massacre](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Bartholomew%27s_Day_massacre)

[6] "Noddle-napping" was the term used by the cavalry for the sport of chasing rebels through the woods and lopping their heads off with swords.

[7] Tom Barry *Guerrilla Days in Ireland*, Chapter XIV Execution of Spies. p.112

[8] Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*, <http://marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1938/morals/morals.htm>

[9] Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/ch01.htm>

# Iraq and ISIS: For an Anti-imperialist United Front against another “revolution-made by the CIA”

*Statement by the Liaison Committee for the Fourth International July, 2014*

The ISIS is another blow to justify the new imperialist offensive and the Balkanisation of Iraq!

For multiethnic militias of workers and oppressed peoples with no religious divisions in the Middle East to drive out imperialism and advance the struggle for a workers and peasants government!

## The Geostrategy of decadent imperialism

Always hidden, the main goal of US military adventures, in Afghanistan and in Iraq and all its other wars was to overcome the crisis of the capitalist system in the USA, to combat its falling rate of profit by seeking new areas of investment for its finance houses and their linked transnational corporations following ‘regime change’. A vital part of this strategy is to swell the coffers of the MIC (Military Industrial Complex), which produces all the military hardware. [1]

Therefore, Afghanistan was invaded. So the myth was created of weapons of mass destruction held by Saddam Hussein. But, any imperialist State investment in destructive forces was not enough to contain the crisis of imperialism. These investments only increased the crisis of over-accumulation of capital, a crisis that accelerated the decline of the global system of domination of “Pax Americana”. In turn, imperialism expected recoup their investment in the war effort by draining Iraq of its resource; oil, natural gas (50 billion cubic meters of proven reserves) and the Afghan poppy (to feed the drug trafficking of opium and heroin worldwide, mainly the mafia of Calabria and Kosovo).

The dialectical logic of “military Keynesianism” is: more investments in destructive forces, more possibilities of looting of strategic resources, which, in turn, allows more riches for the MIC; that is the logic of financing the forces of destruction. One of the promises that was made to justify the invasion of Iraq in 2003 was that imperialism would expand the country’s oil production to 6 million barrels of oil per day. Up until then the daily production totalled 2.5 million barrels of oil per day, but all the dislocation and destruction imposed by recolonisation of the country by the US, to boot the Iraqis control of the oil, eventually reducing the daily production to 40% less than in the period of Saddam Hussein. [2] But in 2013, the production level was back up to 3 million barrels a day.

“These increases inflated hopes that, after all, they would begin the reconstruction after the American invasion and occupation. With oil prices always close to \$ 100 a barrel governmental income more than doubled, from about \$ 50 billion in 2010 to more than \$ 100 billion in 2013. “Up to “2011, much of that income was donated to buy US military equipment, including 18 F-16 jets, for \$ 4 billion.” [3]

This recovery boosted the Government figurehead, especially after the withdrawal of troops in 2011, giving it a relative political autonomy in relation to its creator, “diverting” smaller amounts of national income to the parasitism and escalating imperialist in favour of his own enrichment and, to a lesser extent, the reconstruction of the country, in mainly Shiite regions.

The new offensive on Iraq is tied, more than ever, to maintaining control of Iraqi oil by the United States, especially now, when it has reached the peak of oil production on land, when the so-called “shale revolution” is proving to be a fallacy, bringing more pollution and lower profitability and duration to its capitalist backers. Also the consolidation of the block between China and Russia, to compete in the control of natural resources, including and especially the energy resources in the largest continental land-mass on the planet, Eurasia. For all this, and the eventual defeat of imperialism in the war in Syria, is necessary to prevent the main ally of the Eurasian block in the Middle East, Iran, from controlling the Iraq.

On the issue of declared political and geostrategic objectives, the adventures of Bush were a complete disaster. One of the main imperialist policy disasters in Iraq was the strengthening of Iran’s influence in the Arab country, following the defeat of Saddam Hussein’s Sunni Government. The corrupt, reactionary and truculent Government of Shiite Prime Minister, Al-Malik, a capitalist who became a populist dictator, urged on by the majority Shiite population, approached the US and Israel’s main rival in the Middle East, the Persian nation, whose government is also majority Shiite. [4]

Bush’s “mission accomplished” banner was grist to the mill of his opponents. It backfired also in Afghanistan and in Pakistan. After the assassina-



*A file image uploaded on June 14, 2014 on the jihadist website **Welayat Salahuddin** allegedly shows militants of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) executing dozens of captured Iraqi security forces members at an unknown location in the Salaheddin province (AFP Photo / HO)*

tion of Bin Laden, the “mission accomplished” of Obama, the two Asian countries expanded their military and commercial relations with China. [5]

After the withdrawal of US regular troops in 2011, Maliki threw the Deputy Prime Minister and Vice President out of his Government. These minority Sunni representatives, both political and military, were government turncoats from the time of Saddam Hussein, who served the interests of the United States and represented a counterweight to Iranian influence in the Iraqi State. The Vice President, Tariq al-Hashemi, who was accused of running death squads and secret prisons, escaped with the help of the United States and took refuge in Turkey, a member of NATO. He then went on to accuse Maliki of being a dictator worse than Saddam Hussein.

In the Iraqi parliamentary elections on 30 April, Maliki’s Party, the Coalition for the rule of law, was further strengthened, and Maliki consolidated his position for a third term against the US wishes to yield to their preference for a “coalition government”.

“The US had pressed Maliki to leave the Government. When the election favoured Maliki, other methods had to be introduced. Thus, the insurgency began and is now used as a pretext for the ‘regime change.’” [6]

These other imperialist methods are neither legal nor democratic, from the point of view of conventional bourgeois domination up until then. Other methods have been applied in Libya, Syria and Ukraine. They have characterized the Obama administration, are the coups d’état, with excuse of “popular rebellion against bourgeois governments that, especially after the crisis of 2008, had been moving out of the orbit of the USA-EU and choosing to ally themselves with the Russian-Chinese centre.

Maliki, like Saddam Hussein, Assad, Bin Laden, Yanukovich, Gaddafi and many others were at some point agents of imperialist policy, but, when they fell into disgrace, they were attacked. So it appears that the rhythms of the 21st century and the dynamic life of puppets are also really short.

## The so-called “Sunni rebellion” of the mercenaries of ISIS

It is important to understand that this dispute is part of the recent so-called “Sunni insurgency in Iraq” headed by a dissident branch of Al Qaeda, the mercenary jihadist army, Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS, in English). ISIS was trained by instructors from the Pentagon, from 2012, in Jordan and Turkey, was well funded by the bourgeoisie of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Initially, the ISIS was aimed to overthrow the Government of Assad in Syria. But it became clear that without a massive intervention of the imperialist airpower (as occurred so successful in Libya), and because if Russia entered the conflict in favour of Damascus, it became impossible for the CIA mercenary troops to defeat the army of Assad. Already facing an irreversible defeat in Syria, and fearing to loss of all influence over Iraq to the capitalist powers block rivals, the US tried to pivot his Frankenstein jihadists from Syria to Iraq itself, in a lightning military campaign that extends from Aleppo in Syria to Mosul in Iraq and has already conquered all



of the Mesopotamian Midwest.

Julie Lévesque denounced that “the US sponsor terrorism in Iraq and the ‘Constructive Chaos’ in the Middle East” [7] On the same line and same site, Global Research Canada, Larry Chin, asserts that the US goal is “to destroy Iraq and redraw the map of the Middle East” (6/21/2014):

“ISIS is the army of military intelligence of the (US) Empire in its war against Syria. There is evidence that point strongly to a deliberate withdrawal of US forces and Iraq, which allowed the ISIS took Mosul, Tikrit, Fallujah and, above all, take US weapons and equipment ‘ miraculously ’ forgotten in large quantities, to be ‘ found ’. The ISIS now controls the Baiji oil refinery North of Baghdad, which gives the group a fuel source and profitable source of income.” [8]

This advance has been made easy by the simple fact that much of the Iraqi army is understood to be controlled by the USA, and its tentacles from the Pentagon, Academi (formerly Blackwater), etc. It was not by chance that 50 thousand Iraqi soldiers deserted in the face of a military force a fifth its size.

Richard Hass, current President of the Council on Foreign Relations stated in the Financial Times that the Iraqi army in Mosul “melted” and this is an organization that was founded in 1921 by David Rockefeller and remains an essential part of the imperialist intelligentsia. And the “melting” of Iraq matters to imperialism so it can carry out the plan already submitted by vice President Joe Biden, to split the country into three parts: a Kurdish region; another Sunni region, a sort of United Arab Emirates or Qatar; and another Shiite south, the latter being the currency for a future dispute with the bourgeoisie of Iran.

However it is a fact that the leader of the “people’s rebellion”, ISIS, are not so popular. The jihadists began their offensive with methods similar to those used by mercenaries who trounced Gaddafi [9] against the Shiite population and all the civil servants. They beheaded around a thousand people, mostly Iraqi soldiers, and not sparing even the garis (cleaning workers), or Shiite prisoners. But, in his later reported, after the bloody spectacles of the barbarous and terrifying, ISIS has been trying to get rid of its bad image by promising to abolish Israel and presenting themselves as the only ones capable of meeting the demands of all the oppressed of the region. This pro-Palestinian discourse serves to deceive only the unwary.

As part of the geostrategic plan, which also has geostrategic potential of everything going wrong, the White House ruled out military intervention with ground troops to confront directly the “Sunni rebellion”, but assigned 275 soldiers to protect their mega-Embassy in Baghdad, and 300 “military advisers” to fill the halls of “new operation centres in Baghdad and Northern Iraq, to share intelligence and coordinate the planning for combating terrorist threat “.

But, the “support” of the United States to the Government of Iraq is conditional upon the dissolution of the Government itself. The White House said that a US air intervention, with drones, against the ISIS, only occurs if Maliki dissolve his Government.

Just like with Gaddafi, Assad, Yanukovich, all negotiation with the pro-imperialist opposition was preconditioned by the requirement of the overthrow of the old ruler who was an opponent of imperialism. It is also the case with Maliki. The Iraqi Prime Minister that before was presented as the “expression of the Westernization of Republican Iraqi politics”, in post-Saddam Hussein now became be “the main obstacle to ending religious sectarianism” against the transformation of Iraq into a “liberal democracy”, as we have seen in gestures by ISIS. As in Ukraine, where the imperialism had to appeal to fascism, in Iraq, balkanisation needs to appeal to bloody barbarism.

The demand for the resignation of Maliki is further proof that imperialism is not AGAINST the Sunni rebellion “, but rather, is with the ISIS and for the balkanisation of Iraq. Maliki declared that he would not accept the draconian conditions imposed by former masters and continues to plead for US military aid:

“A spokesman for the Iraqi Prime Minister, Nouri al-Maliki, said he will not resign as a condition of US air raids against Sunni militants who made a lightning advance across the country. The Foreign Minister of Iraq, Hoshyar Zebari, made a public appeal on al-Arabiya television for the US to launch attacks, but Barack Obama is under pressure from important American politicians to persuade Maliki, a Shiite Muslim who has pursued sectarian policies, to resign because they believe that the Iraqi leader has failed in the face of insurgency. Dianne Feinstein, Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said at a hearing on Wednesday that the Maliki government ‘



**ISIS jihadist mercenary army trained by Israel and funded by Saudi on behalf of US Imperialism to overthrow Assad and balkanise Iraq.**

has to end if he want any reconciliation ‘, and Republican John McCain called for the use of US airpower, but also urged Obama to “make it clear to Maliki that his time is over.” [10]

McCain is one of the godfathers of ISIS, as shown in the photo.[11] McCain and Republicans hawks sponsored and encouraged the jihadists in Syria before even though the terrorist group took control of the oil regions of the Damascus government.

### **Once again, the left-wing organisations legitimize the sham of “revolutions-made by the CIA”**

While the revolutionary Marxism rests on analysis of international class struggle to decipher the tasks of the proletariat and their regional orientation a handful of left-wing organizations, groups that has been supporting the “revolutions-made by the CIA”, such as the CIT (LSR, the PSOL in Brazil) rush to embellish the “Sunni revolt”: “the ISIS offensive has features of a Sunni general uprising” and “was able to enter the political vacuum in the absence of a united workers movement to organise general opposition to Maliki” [12]

The CMI (IMT in English, of which the British section is Socialist Appeal, the Esquerda Marxista operating within the PT in Brazil) goes further, ramp up the farce:

“The fact is that, as we have seen, among the Sunni Arab population a revolt which has been prepared for some time. And it wasn’t just a revolt of the people in general that was being prepared, but several organized armed groups were involved. [13]

Other international groups such as the CCR who are linked to the Austrian-based RCIT, (“Defend the Sunni rebellion against the regime of Maliki and US Imperialism!”); and Brazilian groups also fell in with the propaganda of the CIA, believing the ISIS are an anti-imperialist guerrillas. The LBI (Internationalist Bolshevik League (Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista), also fell for the propaganda and painted up the story of the “Sunni rebellion” with bright red colours. They prettify the ISIS as ‘internationalist’, and acclaim their military victory, whilst at the same time cowardly hiding that these mercenaries were manufactured, trained and sponsored by the CIA to overthrow the Syrian government.

In Britain both the Socialist Party (CWI) and the Socialist Workers party (IST) have little of substance to say, merely reporting the events, denouncing them and saying things like, ‘only the working class can overcome sectarianism’. They have no strategic opposition to Imperialism whatsoever in their statements and do not see the moves as essentially against Iran, Russia and China. The Socialist party says:

“The working people and poor of Iraq can only rely on self-organisation to end war and misery. An independent, united working class movement is needed to organise self-defence of all communities. With a socialist programme, such a movement could find many regional and international working class allies in its struggle to overthrow the rotten Maliki regime, to expel imperialism and to sweep away all the sectarian, reactionary politicians and militias. But the West has so far held back from air strikes.” [14]

Similarly the SWP has penned an article devoid of any understanding of the geo-political strategy of US imperialism in the region:

“US president Barack Obama has proposed funnelling nearly £300 million to arm rebels in Syria who are fighting Isis within the opposition forces. But any intervention by the West will only make the conflict in the region

bloodier. The few remaining Syrian rebel groups have no interest in being used as pawns by the US, Syrian, Iranian and Iraqi regimes.” [15]

However Workers Power (LFI) have acknowledged that they have problems. They supported the “revolutions” in Libya and Syria, these have turned out to be pro-imperialist proxy armies funded by the USA and its Gulf allies and now they are so confused that they have “mixed emotions”, ISIS are helping to overthrow Assad, and maybe Al-Maliki but it is becoming clear that this is the USA strategic goal too and the secular forces of the “revolution” in the Free Syrian Army are even more pro-imperialist than the jihadists. But they are advancing the “revolution” against Assad and isn’t that all to the good? :

“Indeed for supporters of the Syrian revolution in Syria and in the region, the advance of ISIS will be met with extremely mixed emotions. In the very short term, it weakens Maliki’s Shi’a sectarian regime, which has allowed Iraq to be used as a base for supplying the Assad regime’s brutal war against the Syrian people. It also embarrasses Maliki’s Iranian sponsor, although this must be set against the fact that Iran now has a pretext for even more open interference in Iraq, which the USA is finding it difficult to provide an alternative to.

In the medium and long term, however, it strengthens precisely those forces in Syria that a clear majority of Syria’s revolutionaries had resolved to purge and isolate, and whose sectarian and takfiri politics directly aid the Assad regime by pushing minority religious communities and secular forces to see it as a lesser evil to an ISIS caliphate. In fact Assad has cynically fomented sectarianism in order to divide the opposition to him.” [16]

The Impressionists world left put an equals sign between two different situations and establish the same policy for both. Put an equal sign between the ISIS and the jihadist phalanx, which having been mercenary on Libya, turned against imperialism for their own self-interest in Benghazi, killing the US Ambassador and were later suppressed by French troops in the uprising in Mali. However, if the fundamentalist rebellion in Mali was a tragedy, the rebellion of ISIS in Iraq is a complete farce.

## For an anti-imperialist front with Assad, Hezbollah, Maliki, al-Sadr and Rouhani!

While Maliki begs help from the imperialism that wants to oust him, Moqtada al-Sadr, the most popular guerrilla leader of the country, opposed the imperialist military aid against the ISIS: “the Shiite leader Moqtada al-Sadr announced on Wednesday (25<sup>th</sup>), that it is opposed to the presence of US military advisers in Iraq, after the meeting of advisers with Iraqi military authorities. In televised remarks, broadcast on the Shiite Holy City of Najaf, Moqtada al-Sadr has assured that it will accept ‘international support only from countries that have not occupied the Iraq’.” [17]

Knowing what’s at stake, the oppressed nations threatened by this farce began to move. The Iraqi government received a little help from Assad who unleashed an air strike against the ISIS on 26 June:

Iraqi Prime Minister says “he doesn’t have to ask for the action, but that ‘Cheers’ attack; Kerry warns about possible reinforcements from neighbouring countries. Syrian warplanes bombed positions of Sunni militants in Iraq, the Prime Minister of Iraq.” [18]

His own Shi’a population began to move in the face of the impotence of his government. Other oppressed peoples and anti-imperialists guerrilla groups like Hezbollah, who truly imposed the first historical defeat Israel in 2006, and now helped Assad defeat the CIA mercenaries in Syria, presented themselves to fight in Iraq against the ISIS:

“Thousands of Iranians have volunteered to defend Shiite shrines in Iraq. Iran is 90 percent Shiite, a group regarded as apostates by Isis and other Sunni extremists. The President of Iran, Hassan Rouhani, said that the defence of Shiite holy sites in Najaf, Kerbala, Baghdad and Samarra is vital to his regime. The leader of Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, said that, given the importance of the shrines of Iraq, the Lebanese group was ‘willing to sacrifice five times what we sacrificed in Syria’, where its members, along with Iran, fought back against rebel groups that have tried for more than three years overthrow Bashar al-Assad.” [19]

Without any trust in bourgeois revolutionaries Marxists who are guided by the Liaison Committee for the Fourth

International call for an anti-imperialist united front with Assad, Hezbollah, Malik, Al-Sadr and Rouhani, this is the strategic political orientation which will result in the arming of all oppressed people against imperialism and its agents. The LCFI simultaneously condemns the politics of the bourgeois Governments and parties who betray the struggle for national liberation, who do not fight for the expulsion of imperialism and the destruction of the Nazi-Zionist enclave that is Israel. Their policies only make for new massacres and they are the minority partner and parasites of imperialism in the Middle East.

For all this, it is necessary to proceed with the strategy of Permanent Revolution: the construction of the Bolshevik type parties, for the alternative of revolutionary workers’ power, and a government of workers and peasants throughout the region by building a Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Middle East.

## Notes

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## South Africa: WASP reply to the ANC

Socialist Fight reprints this statement by the Workers and Socialist Party as a discussion piece. We do not endorse the politics of WASP or the DSM and note that its reformism means that it does not have a clear strategic orientation to overthrow capitalism itself and lacks the internationalist orientation necessary to accomplish that central task, more pressing in South Africa over the recent period than in any other country. But nevertheless its orientation to the working class and the sensitivity to its changing moods and its opposition to the TU bureaucracy both of the ANC, Cosatu and crucially AMCU makes this an important document. We apologise for the smallness the print-size.

### Mantashe's fear and loathing – a reply on July 23, 2014

**T**he Democratic Socialist Movement has written a reply to Gwede Mantashe, ANC general secretary, who continues to attack the Workers & Socialist Party, our affiliates and their predecessors.

Gwede Mantashe, general secretary of the ANC, in a new opinion piece published in the Mail & Guardian (18 July 2014), attacks the Workers & Socialist Party (WASP), the Democratic Socialist Movement (DSM), one of the founders of WASP, and Liv Shange, a leader in both organisations, yet again. Mantashe fears the DSM and WASP because we demonstrate the clearest understanding of the processes under way in society that point to the inevitable break between the working class majority of South Africa and the ANC. Mantashe loathes DSM because of all the forces on the left, we drew the conclusion earliest, and have since articulated it most clearly, that the working class must set about the task of building its own party – a mass workers' party on a socialist programme. Mantashe loathes DSM because we have acted upon that conclusion in the founding of WASP, attempting to draw together the forces that could lay the foundations of such a party. And in co-founding WASP, we have helped accelerate the process further by influencing the debates now taking place in Numsa and concentrating the minds of the founders of the Economic Freedom Fighters to take the plunge, demonstrating the rotten-ripeness of an idea whose time has come.

But going further back in time, the spectre of the Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT), a forerunner of the DSM, continues to haunt Mantashe. He refers in his comment piece to "entryism" as exemplifying the "dishonest" methods of past ANC "backstabbers", methods he accuses WASP of today. This is clearly a reference to the MWT, which from the 1970s through to 1996, operated within the ANC to champion the interests of the working class by arguing for socialism within the liberation struggle. We joined the ANC because the working class looked towards it as the leader of the struggle against the racist apartheid segregation system. However, the perspective of the MWT was always that the working classes' loyalty to the ANC could only ever be a temporary phenomenon given the cross-class nature of the ANC and the liberation struggle itself. We warned that the ANC leadership would betray the working classes' socialist aspirations unless the ANC was transformed and the leadership placed decisively in the hands of the working class upon the basis of a real commitment to socialism. Unless that happened, a parting of the ways was inevitable.

With the adoption of GEAR in 1996, the prospect of the ANC becoming a vehicle for the working class to create a socialist society was dealt a death blow. Reorganising ourselves as the DSM, we withdrew from the ANC and began arguing for the creation of a workers' party and supporting all initiatives that tended in that direction. Almost alone on the left, the DSM championed that idea. The methods of struggle of the mineworkers in 2012 and their reaction to Marikana was a stunning confirmation of DSM's perspective. It became clear that the birth of a workers' party was now firmly on the agenda amongst the advanced sections of the working class – with the mineworkers at the forefront. WASP was founded to help act as a midwife to such a mass party.

Mantashe was well aware of the existence of the MWT at the time and one of those prominent in witch-hunts against our members when inside the ANC. It is surely not lost on Mantashe that our perspective has been borne out. The history of the ANC in government, where the interests of the working class have consistently been subordinated to the interests of the capitalist class, is conclusive proof.

In the development of WASP, important historical knots have been retied that will further haunt Mantashe. The decision of Moses Mayekiso to join WASP unites another important strand from the liberation struggle

that was always sceptical of the ANC's support for the working class. Playing a pivotal role in the foundation of Cosatu, it was Mayekiso who moved a motion at Cosatu's 1993 congress on behalf of Numsa as its then general secretary, calling for the creation of a workers' party to contest the first free elections. The motion was lost, but an important reference point was laid down. Twenty years later the working class is examining anew, and with serious intent, the idea that they need their own party with Numsa once again at the forefront.

Mantashe is obsessed with WASP because he feels the ground shifting beneath the ANC and it recalls in his mind that the eclipse of the ANC has long been foretold by the MWT and Mayekiso and the left of the early labour movement. And what are these shifting sands? In the 2014 elections the ANC's vote continued to slide with the numbers not voting far outweighing the number who voted ANC; the biggest trade union in the country until Marikana – the NUM – has been reduced to a rump in the mining heartlands precisely because of its support for the ANC's pro-capitalist policies; the inheritor of the mantle of largest trade union, Numsa, resolved not to campaign for the ANC in the 2014 elections and is openly discussing the formation of a new workers' party; Cosatu is in crisis fundamentally over what attitude to take toward the ANC with a split likely sooner or later; the reduction of the ANC in the 2014 elections to just 36% in the metros and urban areas, to which the rural municipalities and small towns will rapidly catch-up, indicates the advanced stage of the break between the ANC and the working class and middle class; and the post-election publishing of an opinion poll showing that one third of South African adults think a "workers' or labour party will assist with current problems facing SA".

All this taken together is a stunning confirmation of the analysis put forward by WASP and the DSM and the MWT before that. Mantashe fears us and obsesses over us because he can see that we have been right all along.

#### Mantashe finds 'new' angle to attack from

In his new opinion piece, Mantashe retracts his claim that WASP, and Liv Shange, WASP's deputy general secretary were behind the five month platinum strike. Of course WASP never claimed to be leading the 2014 platinum strike or to have any special influence on its course. This was always Mantashe's invention and as we have consistently pointed out an insult to the intelligence of the mineworkers. Mantashe now says that his "reference to foreign nationals disguising their attempts to hijack the strike under the cloak of solidarity was not about [Shange]". This directly contradicts Zizi Kodwa, ANC spokesperson, who in clarifying Mantashe's comments about "white foreign nationals" said Mantashe was "only" speaking about Shange. (Shange, a resident of SA for over ten years is originally from Sweden.)

Accusing WASP of "dishonesty", Mantashe goes on to claim that we hoped "to use AMCU to create WASP" and that this is at "the core of the feud between the leaderships of the AMCU and the WASP". These comments are all calculated to drive a wedge between WASP and the mineworkers. Indeed, Mantashe's comments do not repeat any of his previous criticisms of the AMCU leadership, choosing to appear as their defenders in this instance all the better to attack WASP.

As is to be anticipated, there is a struggle over the real history of the mining industry, especially of the period from Marikana to early 2013. The ANC, the AMCU leadership, even the EFF in their new book *The Coming Revolution*, have all re-told the story of that period to suit their own sectarian interests. Mantashe is hoping to add a new voice to this chorus in his latest claims. Even Rehad Desai of the Democratic Left Front, in his film about the Marikana massacre, erases the role of DSM from the history of that period. Our account of this period is already a matter of public record, but we will nevertheless repeat some basic points here.

DSM and WASP's first loyalty has always been to the mineworkers, regardless of their union affiliation. Our unwavering support for the platinum strike and the mineworkers' demand for a living wage of R12 500 testifies to that. The DSM played a key role in the mining industry immediately after Marikana, linking up the independent strike committees that had sprung-up immediately before the massacre as mineworkers expelled the treacherous NUM officials from the shafts. The strike committees linked-up first on a Rustenburg wide level and later on a national level. WASP was founded in December 2012 by the DSM and six of these strike committees. In early March 2013 the National Strike Committee, representing mineworkers in the North West, Limpopo and

Continued on p. 29

# Boko Haram and the planned Break-up of Nigeria

By Ailesh Dease

The name 'Boko Haram' is an amalgamation of the Hausa and Arabic languages. Boko is applied to the old British Colonial education, which many Hausas saw as an attempt to colonize their minds. Haram is borrowed from the Arabic and refers to anything, which is forbidden in Islam as opposed to those things, which are 'halal' and so are permitted in Islam. Boko Haram means, "European Colonial 'education' is a fraudulent deception". (The etymology of Hausa boko by P. Newman 2013 )

This whole concept is rooted in the historical experience of Nigerians when the British sought to introduce their education system to replace traditional Islamic education. The Hausa elite would not send their own children to schools where the traditional culture and values of the Hausa and of Islam would be undermined and their children would be turned into "yan – boko" i.e. bogus westerners. Boko is associated with western education now, but the initial resistance was to values being imposed by foreigners.

The colonialists politicized religion and ethnicity in order to divide and rule the people. After political 'independence' the situation deteriorated to what it is now.

Boko Haram (BH) is a group of Islamists in the north of Nigeria, fanatic but peaceful who campaigned for an Islamic State based upon Sharia law. They became deadly after the Nigerian government murdered their leaders in cold blood in 2009. There were mass extra judicial killings and they never got any justice.

BH as a movement has shamelessly betrayed Islamic teachings. Islamic religious scholars and Muslims all over the world have criticised BH not only for its violence but also for its bigotry and dogmatism and its attempts to coerce Christians to convert to Islam and to force what are perceived as secular schools to close down.

The conditions that have nurtured BH are primarily poverty and exploitation- the everyday violence of capitalism, the absence of basic services such as clean water, electricity, education, health care etc. hideous corruption and theft in the government,

BH began to carve out territory between four countries Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad. Over time they have become more deadly and more audacious. In Cameroon they broke into an army barrack and freed two of their leaders, they filmed the attack and released the edited video. They have bombed major bus stations in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria.

On the 14 April 280 girls were abducted and taken hostage from their secondary school dormitories in Chibok in Borno State by BH. They have asked for the release of their prisoners held in Nigerian jails in exchange for the girls. The government has refused to negotiate with BH. It took one month and mass protests by the women of Nigeria (historically women have always taken the lead in protests e.g. women led uprisings against colonialism) for President Goodluck Jonathon (GEJ) to recognize the kidnapping of the Chibok girls. It took 3 months for the President to invite the parents of the missing girls to meet with him.

The government is too corrupt to get anything done. Nigerians do not have stable electric supplies in spite of the trillions of dollars of revenues from oil sales. A few months ago they fired the Governor of the Central Bank because they said over **\$50 billion** was stolen by the National Petroleum Corporation. Army generals are pocketing money meant for buying weapons for the soldiers and police who are supposed to be fighting BH. The soldiers have no proper food or clothes, nowhere to sleep or clean water to drink. .... This is the outcome of the corruption that has ravaged Nigeria for the last 50 years. The corrupt capitalist ruling class has stolen over 500 billion dollars.

The Nigerian Government is responsible for a counter offensive against BH, which has bought allegations of widespread slaughter of civilians. The people accuse the Nigerian military of a terror campaign, of indiscriminate shootings and bombings, unexplained civilian deaths, nighttime round ups of young men by the security forces. People said that this climate of terror forced them to flee in their thousands on foot into the harsh scorching semi desert to Niger. [1]

The Nigerian security forces have always been known for their brutality, their lack of respect for human rights and their indiscriminate killing of civilians have been well documented. Wikileaks documents shows that the CIA took advantage of sectarian divisions in Nigeria, recruited unemployed Islamic extremists (BH), trained them and returned them to Nigeria to create chaos. Covertly supporting terrorist organizations to achieve Foreign



Policy aims is now the name of the Imperialist Foreign Policy game.... after Libya then Syria then Ukraine then... Wikileaks reported on a United States cable of 29/6/09 which showed that the CIA predicted the onslaught of deadly terrorist attacks by Boko Haram, 2 months before they started terrorist actions.

After bombings in Damaturu, the US Embassy issued a statement stating that such bombings should be expected in three specific establishments in Abuja. This statement raised several questions such as ..what did the embassy actually know about the bombings...?

Wikileaks documents also indicates that SS8 a surveillance company in the US was producing viruses (Trojans) that hijack individual computers and phones (iPhone, Blackberry, Android etc.), to take over the device, record its every use, movement, GPS info and even sights and sounds in the room it is in. This software was bought by the Nigerian Government and used as tools by the CIA in its eavesdropping on Nigerian politicians, thus detecting corrupt practices. They used this information to threaten politicians to carry out their instructions. The United States Intelligence Council has predicted that Nigeria will disintegrate by 2015. Algerian intelligence confirms a direct link between Boko Haram and western-financed Al-Qaeda In The Maghreb -AQIM. [2]

In 2011 The US State Department refused to place BH on the terrorist List because BH had sponsors at the highest levels of the oligarchs in Nigeria.

BH spokesman Abu Qaqa claims to have visited Mecca with Boko Haram leader Abu-Bakr Shekau, where the group received financial and technical support from Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia (AQAP) ([Boko Haram vows to fight until Nigeria establishes sharia law](#), The Guardian, January 27, 2012).

The United States has conducted a series of African war game scenarios in preparation for the Pentagon's expansion of AFRICOM (African Military Command). One scenario tested the US Africa Command's capacity to respond to a disintegrating Nigeria on the verge of collapse amidst civil war, by sending 20,000 US troops to battle vying rebel factions seeking to control the Niger Delta oil fields. [3]

Nigeria, Africa's largest economy (with natural gas, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc and arable land.) is an important source of oil and petroleum for Beijing. A divided Nigeria would pose a major problem for China (a re run of Sudan) which has (among other major contracts) signed a \$23 billion deal to construct three fuel refineries in Nigeria, adding an extra 750,000 barrels per day of domestic refining capacity. [4]

China has invested in Africa's telecommunications market by building and launching a geostationary commercial satellite, owned by Nigeria and operated in Abuja. [5] In 2007, US State Department advisor Dr. J. Peter Pham commented on AFRICOM's strategic objectives of "protecting access to hydrocarbons and other strategic resources which Africa has in abundance, a task which includes ensuring against the vulnerability of those natural riches and ensuring that no other interested third parties, such as China, India, Japan, or Russia, obtain monopolies or preferential treatment." AFRICOM's mission is to create war and instability in the name of fighting



# Boko Haram and the planned Break-up of Nigeria

terrorism. Just another front in its war with China for global energy dominance.

At an AFRICOM Conference on February 18, 2008, Vice Admiral Robert T. Moeller declared that the guiding principle of AFRICOM is to protect “the free flow of natural resources from Africa to the global market”, before stating that China’s increasing presence on the continent was a challenge to American interests. [6]

On the 10<sup>th</sup> May 2014 BH staged a deadly attack on Gamborou in Borno State killing 300 villagers. On May 16 2014 Sahara Reporters posted a report :”War against Boko Harem... Nigerian Soldiers Say They Are Ill-Equipped, Betrayed by Commanders, Authorities in Abuja.”

Some soldiers suspect that their commanders reveal military operations to BH. The National Premium Post, Nigeria’s daily online newspaper, on May 18, 2014 published an article claiming that army Generals are selling weapons to BH (nine serving Generals face court-martial for treason). The Army quickly refuted these claims, but questions remains, Why are soldiers leaving their duty posts and turning their guns against their commanders? Why has the insurgency flourished in spite of trillions spent to curb it?

A report titled “We were barred from repelling Gamboru attack” in the Daily Trust on 22 May 2014” reported that a Nigerian soldier in Borno state confirmed that Boko Haram attacked Gamboru in their presence but their commander asked them *not* to repel the attack. The soldier told BBC Hausa Service that helicopters were overhead while the attacks were going on. 300 people were killed, houses were burnt while soldiers watched and were ordered not to help the people being attacked. The records show that more public money is stolen when the state is in crisis so there is no incentive to end the crisis.

In 2012, The Nigerian Tribune reported Boko Harm’s funding was traced to the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia, specifically from the Al-Muntada Trust Fund. In 2005, [The Center for Security Policy](#) stated, “Al-Muntada has, incidentally, been particularly active in promoting Wahhabi-style Islamism in Nigeria... Al-Muntada... pays for Nigerian clerics to be ‘brainwashed’ in Saudi universities and imposed on Nigerian Muslims through its well-funded network of mosques and schools.”

Religious fundamentalism always mean super exploitation and oppression of women. The abduction of the girls raises the whole issue of sexual slavery, sexual violence and the manipulation of religion to serve the needs of specific sections of the oligarchy. In order to stem the tide of struggle against the economic and social conditions prevailing in the country, fundamentalist cults were imported from North America, this, together with its Islamic counterpart functioned as a shield for the Oligarchs. Religious ideas undermine those who questioned the economic and market fundamentalism which pushed the producing classes further into poverty. In the North, under Sharia the exploitation of workers intensified and like the South, the public purse was looted. The Oligarchs sent their children to school in Europe while a poor person would have their arm amputated for stealing a loaf of bread.

WASP from p. 29

Gauteng, endorsed the launching of WASP as their party, which took place two weeks later, with delegations of mineworkers from across the country in attendance.

Throughout the second half of 2012 and the first months of 2013, a situation of effective dual power existed in the mines. The independent strike committees continued to have the overwhelming confidence and loyalty of the mineworkers as AMCU began taking very cautious steps to recruit outside of their small pockets of members in Rustenburg and the Gauteng gold fields. Recognising the need for a registered trade union, DSM encouraged mineworkers to join AMCU. However we warned that this must not be at the expense of the mineworkers’ newly won independence and that the strike committees should be maintained whilst AMCU’s democratic credentials were tested out. But the AMCU leadership saw the existence of the strike committees as a threat and worked to close them down and simultaneously remove the influence of DSM. This process played out over many months.

This is the origin of the differences between WASP and the AMCU leadership. Our criticism of the AMCU leadership sharpened when it was



“It is embarrassing that the president had to wait for Malala to come all the way to Nigeria to convince him to meet with us three months after the attack,” said Dauda Iliya, a member of the Chibok panel of elders

Without a class analysis of the campaign to “Bring back our girls”, we will not be able to determine the real causes of the problem.

The US seeks to set up a permanent military base in the country and the kidnappings have given them an opportunity to do so. Nigeria’s coastal defence has already been surrendered to the US.

The US has used the kidnappings to serve it’s own interests, 3 months on and with all it’s “advisers” in Nigeria there is still no sign of the girls.

Nigerians need to build a party through grassroots street and village committees up to national levels to ensure democratic participation and accountability at every stage. They need to build a worker’s party which would nationalise the nation’s resources under workers’ control; create secure employment; establish a secular state; provide free education and health care for all; develop adequate infrastructure and industrialise the country on an environmentally sustainable basis. This is the way to end religious fundamentalism

## Notes

- [1] Human Rights Watch 2014 World Report
- [2] [Algeria says Nigeria’s Boko Haram tied to al Qaeda](#), Reuters, November 13, 2011.
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- [5] [China Builds And Launches A Satellite For Nigeria](#), The Washington Post, May 14, 2010.
- [6] [Africa: U.S. Military Holds War Games on Nigeria, Somalia](#), AllAfrica, August 14 2009

clear that they would not honour the democratic decisions of the strike committees and support WASP or even the idea of a workers’ party. In fact, the AMCU leadership has done everything possible to block WASP from the mining areas by spreading lies and expelling our members and former strike committee leaders from the union. If there is a “feud” it is waged by the AMCU leadership against WASP. The AMCU leadership has taken refuge behind their so-called ‘apolitical’ position, supposedly in the interests of mineworker ‘unity’, to justify their betrayal of the clear position taken by the mineworkers on the question of a new party. And maybe this explains, why on this occasion, Mantashe is willing to mute his criticisms of AMCU and imply common cause with its leadership against WASP’s “dishonest” methods.

Whilst all of this was a set-back for WASP in the short-term and a complication on the road to a new workers’ party, the mineworkers’ remain at the forefront of the struggles of the working class and the rising tide of working class struggle and the political conclusions that will inevitably flow from that – the need for a workers’ party on a socialist programme.

# The Chartists 1838- 1848

By Ailesh Dease

The Chartists grew out of the London Working Men's Association, which was a group of working men who came together for political activity. A Cornish stonemason William Lovett drafted the six points of the Charter and it was disseminated throughout the country, then the Chartist Convention was formed which became the Chartist leadership.

The Chartists organized the world's first worker's movement. They published the Charter with its six demands partly in response to the 'Great Reform Act' of 1832. This Act was not 'great' and was just an illusion of 'reform'. But it had much significance for the British ruling class. There were 219 Members of Parliament (MPs) who collectively were elected with 1400 votes. The system of representation, represented, not the people but property. As a result of the Great Reform Act, a Whig Government was elected which was even more reactionary than the Tory government it replaced. The Whig government introduced a series of legislation designed to attack the poor and those who organized to improve the situation of the poor. The government passed the Poor Law Amendment Act which took away the basic relief that poor people could get from the local Authorities and replaced it with putting people in the Workhouse – a terrible degradation, prisons for the poor.

At the same time there were attacks on organized workers wherever they organized, the Tolpuddle martyrs were deported to Australia in 1834, the Glasgow Spinners Strike was broken and its leaders were deported in 1836.

All these things led to the publication of the Charter in 1838. Now, the demands seem very ordinary

- Universal Male Suffrage (Not female suffrage)
- Vote by ballot
- Payment of MPs
- No property qualifications
- Equal Constituencies
- Annual Parliaments

All the demands were focused on technical provisions about people voting. Equal member constituencies etc. But it led to the most fantastic agitation and anger within the working class. The Charter called for Universal Male Suffrage, but the activity of the women was quite extraordinary. They were extremely active in the movement and aware of their power to activate themselves to change their lives.

This was a period of serious economic crisis; there was desperate poverty of vast numbers of people and hideous exploitation in the workplace. The Father of Chartism Bronterre O'Brien (an Irishman) wrote in The Poor Man's Guardian in April 1831

The history of Mankind shows that from the very beginning of the world, the rich of all countries have been in a permanent state of con-

spiracy to keep down the poor of all countries and for this plain reason because the poverty of the poor man is essential to the riches of the rich man, no matter by what means they may disguise their operations, the rich are everlastingly plundering debasing and brutalizing the poor.

We can bear witness to O'Brien's statement now in 2014 in the middle of a crisis created by the Bankers plundering and brutalizing the global working class:

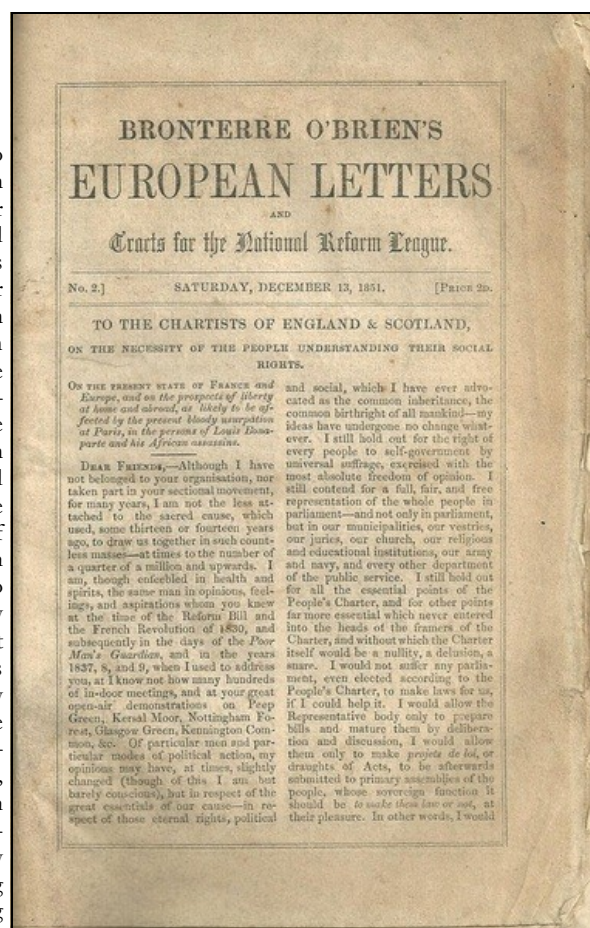
The Capitalist system which did all this plundering is essentially an undemocratic system. The whole class that rules were not elected and not responsible, so become your own governors in the workshop as well as out of it. Universal suffrage can be of little use if applied only to political purposes. In fact it is only as an auxiliary to social reform or as a means of protecting the multitudes in the establishment of new institutions for the production and distribution of wealth. [1]

This says more about Parliamentary democracy than much else. The anger of the working class was not just directed at having a vote; they wanted the vote in order to establish economic equality and fairness in the society.

For them democracy was not a political notion about when, where and how you voted, it was to shift the balance of **economic power**.

The Chartist Movement had three great climaxes of people campaigning, to draw attention to the Charter. One of the greatest climaxes was in 1839; the closest Britain came to revolution. There

were vast meetings everywhere, torch light meetings, and illegal meetings at night. There was the production of arms all over the country particularly in the North East. The Poor Man's Guardian published a supplement reproducing extracts from Colonel Frances Macerone's manual on street fighting. Serious Riots broke out for example in Birmingham and Newcastle. This sent the ruling class into complete panic and they sent a general named Napier to get the Chartist leaders together. He told them



## ALARMING CHARTIST RIOTS AT NEWPORT.

(From a second edition of the Times of Tuesday.)  
We have just received the following from our correspondent at Newport:—

"Newport, Monday, 11 o'clock A. M.  
"The Chartists have almost entire possession of the town. 7,000 or 8,000 have marched in from the hills, and attacked the Westgate Inn, where the magistrates are sitting. I have heard 30 or 40 shots fired, and learn that several of the Chartists, as well as soldiers, are killed. What the end will be God only knows—they are firing now. I write by post, but fearing the mail may be stopped, I send this in addition.

"Newport, 1 o'clock P. M.  
"I was mistaken in saying that any soldiers are killed. There is one (Sergeant Daly) wounded with some slugs in the forehead, but not dangerously. Of the special con-

Cardiff, 4 o'clock Monday afternoon.

The Mayor and Magistrates here having received some intelligence of the Chartist intentions, assembled last night, and having summoned the staff of the Glamorgan militia and the pensioners, kept watch all night. Every thing, however, was quiet.

To-day, upon the arrival of an express from Newport with the above alarming intelligence, still further measures were taken to preserve the peace of the town, and the Mayor ordered some six-pounders to be placed at the various entrances to Cardiff, manned by some sailors and the pensioners.

The following is a postscript to a letter received yesterday morning from Pontypool:—

"Another outbreak of the Chartists occurred last night; our town has been full of confusion: the soldiers are expected to arrive this morning."



# The Chartists 1838- 1848

he didn't want any "unpleasantness".

The Chartist leaders told Napier that they were not interested in stopping the unpleasantness; indeed they were interested in increasing the unpleasantness. In the summer of 1839 the Chartist Convention called for a general strike across the country in support of the Charter.

But the leadership was unable or unwilling to lead a revolution and backed away from it claiming that support for the strike was not "uniform". The strike was called off. With the historical experience of our class we can now say that no action of that kind has uniform support, there is always that division between the people who want to act and others who will not. But this is never an excuse to do nothing.

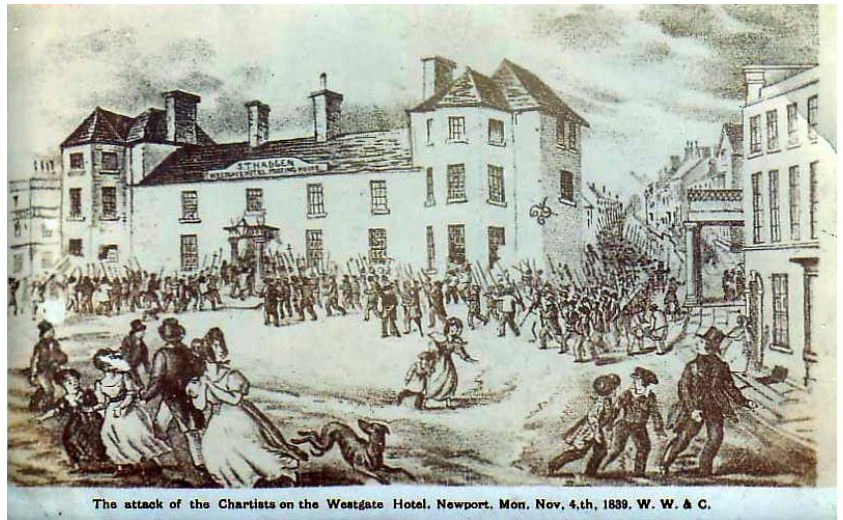
As soon as the strike was called off the ruling class regained the offensive and there was an even greater round of repression. People who had anything whatever to do with the strike were arrested and charged with various conspiracy charges.

In response to Parliament's rejection of the first Chartist Petition—there were three petitions all of which were rejected by Parliament—an armed body of men invaded Newport at the end of 1839. They were quickly suppressed by a contingent of the British Army.

The Newport Uprising was a serious attempt to overthrow the British government. 15,000 miners and ironworkers were involved. There was the stockpiling of arms, for various technical reasons it failed. One of the organizers, John Frost, who could have fled, stayed behind to destroy all the evidence of a plan. He and two others were sentenced to death. The Judge ordered that they be hung, drawn and quartered to discourage the others, but they weren't because there was such an outcry and a huge protest movement was organized. His sentence was commuted and Frost was transported to Tasmania where he was given a job in an office. He saw the injustices there (the British committed genocide against the Tasmanian people who are now extinct) and he wrote a letter exposing what was going on in the colonies, for this he was sentenced to break rocks at the age of 56.[2]

As soon as the Chartist Leadership called off the strike the ruling class assumed that was the end of Chartism. But headless movement continued until it formed another leadership. In 1842 when the Chartists again tried to win their demands by means of a general strike, troops fired on strikers in Blackburn, Halifax and Preston. By the middle of August 1842 the strike had been defeated. The state arrested over 1,500 Chartists, put over 600 on trial and forty were transported.

The third phase of agitation was in 1848, the year of revolution all over Europe, this led to another Petition and people felt that there would be such a mighty demonstration that it would bring the government to its knees and force them to adopt the Charter. But what the government did was pack all the bridges of London with Special Constables and told the Chartists that they could not march, but they could have a rally in Kennington Common. Unfortunately the Chartist leadership accepted this. After this there was a huge attack on the movement. According to John Saville's "1848" all the attacks on the Chartist leaders after 1848 were "exercises in miscarriages of justice". [3] He shows how the law is there to be twisted for the ruling class. They organized all kinds of bogus witnesses, anyone who would lie and denounce a Chartist their testimony would be accepted. So there was another series of deportations and terrible treatment of people in prison.



Three times in 1839, 1842 and 1848 the Chartist Leadership failed to take it further, failed to see the revolutionary potential of the working class.

One of the important aspects of the Chartist movement was the way they worked to establish working class unity. This was a time when there was significant Irish immigration into Britain, and the ruling class, (expert at the manipulation of differences between people) tried to use racism to divide the working class and to attack the Chartists. Irish workers were subjected to the most vicious anti-Irish racism and the Chartists fought against this ruling class tactic.

William Cuffay (Kofi) (see p. 29) was one of the greatest Chartist orators, was Black and he was subjected to the most vile and disgusting racist abuse. But the Chartists used him as a symbol against slavery and repression. Cuffay was among those charged with conspiracy and sedition and transported on the prison ship *Adelaide* to Tasmania where he died in July 1870

For fifty years there was nothing written about the Chartists. The series of uprisings were buried until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was primarily because the ruling class was afraid that there might be another agitation and a new movement might emerge.

Now all the points of the Charter (except one: annual Parliaments) have been conceded, yet less and less people bother to vote. This is due, at least in part, to the separation of the political from the economic demands of Chartism. The Chartists faced many of the same challenges that workers face today. In 2014 we face the horrible prospect of a third world war to be unleashed by imperialism as a means to escape the financial crisis the bankers have created. It is interesting to read O'Brien's comments on war:

Is it not time that the productive classes of all nations should form a holy alliance amongst themselves to fight no more for landlords and moneylords? Is it not time to tell these landed and commercial demons henceforward to fight for themselves? Is it not time that nations should come to a common understanding that all war is sinful and an abomination in the sight of god, unless it be a war against Landlords and merchants to save the human race from future crimes and carnage. May 22 1847 [4]

## Notes

[1] The Poor Man's Guardian 1834.

[2] The Tasmanian genocide (fl. 1826-1829) is where white British settlers wiped out nearly all the native people of Tasmania (then called Van Diemen's Land) and then sent the few hundred still alive to prison camps where they died of disease and despair. Truganini, the last full-blooded Tasmanian, died in 1876. <http://abagond.wordpress.com/2013/05/10/the-tasmanian-genocide/>

[3] 1848 by John Saville Cambridge University Press 1990

[4] The National and Manx Weekly Review of Home and Foreign Affairs May 22 1847 p. 1

# William Cuffay – the life and times of a Chartist leader

Martin Hoyles Hhansib publications 2013

Reviewer: Laurence Humphries

**M**artin Hoyles an academic from East London has written a useful account of the Life and experience of William Cuffay a Black Chartist who was active in the Chartist Movement. He traces Cuffay's life who was born into slavery, his freedom in Britain and his eventual development inside the Chartist Movement in the 1840s and his eventual deportation to Australia.

Hoyle's tells us that William Cuffay's Grandfather was a slave who originated from the Gold Coast present day Ghana in West Africa and was transported to the West Indies to work in the sugar plantations. "Around 12 million people were shipped across the Atlantic as slaves" [1]

Many of the English Middle class campaigned against Slavery including Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) Granville Sharp (1735-1813) and of course William Wilberforce. In 1833 Slavery was abolished. William Cuffay was born in Chatham, His father who managed to obtain his freedom managed to travel to England and William was born in 1788 and became a Tailor. St Kitts where William Cuffay's Grandfather worked was a hotbed of political agitation by the black slaves to win their freedom and get rid of their oppression. Mary Prince and Olandah Equino are two of the freed slaves who campaigned in Britain addressing meetings to speak of the inequities of Slavery.

Many Black sailors who fought in the Napoleonic Wars organised strikes and industrial action aboard ships. Much of this action took place in Cuffay's birthplace in Chatham. "In 1775 there was a strike of Shipwrights which spread to Plymouth and Portsmouth" [2].

The germ of trade unionism had emerged in Britain with the development of Corresponding Societies, small secret clubs of determined workers where secret oaths were used and armed Militias formed to defend Workers rights and advance their rights to proper conditions and decent wages. After Cuffay's father died in 1815 Cuffay moved to London and started work as a Tailor. Hoyle makes reference to the Levellers and the Diggers of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Tailoring was the largest manufacturing trade in the City. The tailors were well organised and went on strike in 1744. Francis Place a noted radical of the time and a master tailor commented "The system of combination of the journeyman tailors is by far the most perfect of many" [3].

William Cuffay became a leader of many of these trade disputes. "In 1834 Tailors decided to strike, Cuffay stayed out until the bitter end". [4].

Cuffay was active as a Chartist leader organising demonstrations. Many black freed slaves living in London were active Chartists and campaigned with others to improve the wages and working conditions of workers and Journeymen in London. In London the London Workingmen's Association was formed with William Lovett as the Secretary. Thomas Hardy was the secretary of the London Corresponding Society. Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass a Black freed slave were all active in Negro emancipation. Hoyle comments further "Like in 1794 radical artisan cutlers in Sheffield called for the total emancipation of the negro slaves". [5].

1839 signalled the great development of the Chartist Movement. The Chartist general Convention met and in June 1839 the Peoples Charter was presented to Parliament. The chartist movement was a broad movement encompassing all political views. The chartist movement would split between the reformists who believed that it



was through Parliament that you could achieve chartist's demands and the physical force Chartists who argued for the Revolutionary overthrow of Society and Communists demands for a classless Society. Karl Mark and Frederick Engels the founders of Communism paid close attention to these developments. Hoyle mentions Marx in passing as a footnote and doesn't consider the intervention of Marx and Engels as important factors. Marx was responsible for setting up the First International of working men's association. Marx commented "We now come to the Chartists, the politically active portion of the British working class; the six points of the charter which they contend for contain nothing but the demand of Universal suffrage and of the conditions without which Universal Suffrage would be illusory for the Working class. But Universal Suffrage is the equivalent of Political power for the working class of England". [6].

Some Physical force Chartists like William Frost in Newport armed themselves and set out to organise a planned uprising and overthrow Capitalism. Cuffay supported the uprisings in Wales. "This culminated in 1839 with the Newport Rising on 4<sup>th</sup> November aiming to release Henry Vincent from Monmouth jail and to rear the standard of rebellion throughout Wales. Several thousand Chartists mostly miners attacked the Westgate Hotel. Soldiers opened fire 22 Chartists were killed Mass arrests followed and the Leaders John Frost, Zephaniah Williams and William Jones were transported to Australia". [7].

During the 1830s and 1840s there was widespread depression and slump leading to severe shortage of foodstuffs and starvation by the masses of working people. Fergus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien and Julian Harney were in the leadership of the Chartist movement. This was the period of revolutionary action by the working class, Plug Riots which meant that Miners took the plugs out of the machines. Hoyle comments "Strikes broke out in the Midlands and the North against wage cuts and unemployment". [8]. Cuffay was now the acknowledged leader of the London tailors. More petitions were presented to Parliament with no visible response.

Hoyle mentions the Communist utopian leader in London Thomas Spence 1750-1814. Thomas Spence was a revolutionary utopian



## William Cuffay, Chartist leader

communist who advocated revolutionary change and the overthrow of capitalism. For a better appreciation of Spence I would refer you to my Previous article on Spence in SF 13 [9]. Hoyle has a reformist outlook and doesn't really appreciate the Revolutionary aspirations of Utopian Communists like Spence and others. Spence was to emerge in a period before the Working class had matured and consequently much of his writing has a utopian flavour. It would be left to the Marxist movement to consciously work out how the Working class could achieve Socialism.

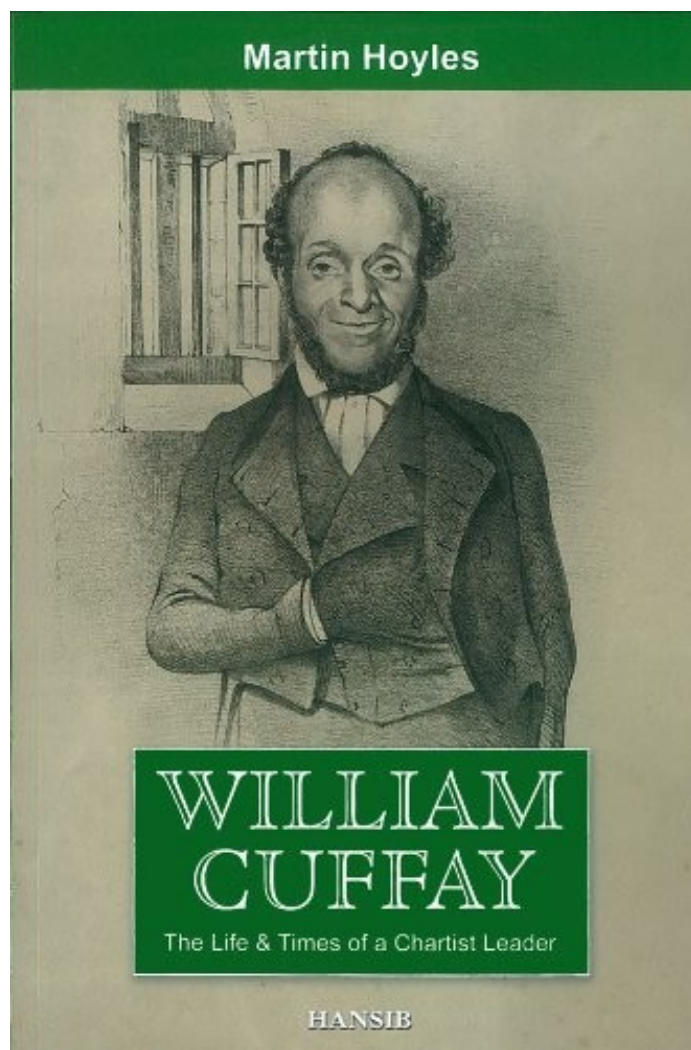
Hoyle refers to another utopian communist Robert Owen as just another Philanthropist who favoured cooperation and set up various communities like His communities New Lanark and Harmony. Owen was more than this and for a proper appreciation of Owen and his major political contribution as a utopian communist we have to turn to Frederick Engels's great Work Anti-Duhring. "His advance to communism (Owens) was the turning point in Owen's life, as long as he merely played the part of a philanthropist he had reaped nothing but wealth, applause, honour and glory, but when he came forward with his communist theories, the situation was entirely changed. All social movements, all real advances made in England in the interests of the Working Class were associated with Owen's name. Thus in 1819 after five years effort he was successful in securing the first Law limiting Labour of women and children in the Factories. He presided at the first Congress at which the Trades Unions of all England united in a single great trades association (The Grand Consolidated Trade Union). As transition measures to the complete communist organisation of Society". [10].

In 1847 the chartist leadership organised a demonstration to present their petition to Downing Street on Universal suffrage. There were 150,000 thousand people on the Demonstration, but the leadership of the chartists particularly Fergus O'Connor, a reformist backed down and told the masses assembled "O'Connor had explained that there was to be no procession with the petition to the House of Commons". [11] Cuffay and the physical force element in the crowd opposed this as a complete climb-down from the reformist Leadership of Connor and others. The Morning Chronicle reported the following "Mr Cuffay said he believed the whole Convention were a set of cowardly humbugs and he would have nothing more to do with them". [12].

From now on Cuffay would participate with the more militant sections of the chartists. These meetings where armed uprisings were planned were easily penetrated by spies and informers. Cuffay became active and was Secretary of Ulterior Committee of Chartists and Irish Confederates.

Hoyle comments "In London The Ulterior Committee of Chartists and Irish confederates began a meeting on 20<sup>th</sup> July with around 30-40 delegates present including the Home Office spy Thomas Powell, according to Powell Cuffay attended the first meeting and on 13<sup>th</sup> august he was appointed Secretary at a meeting at Bree dons Beer shop in Marylebone". [13].

Most of the delegates were arrested including Cuffay. He stood trial and was transported to Tasmania in Australia. After he served his sentence in Australia, Cuffay who was now in his seventies addressed meetings and was active in the working class movement in Tasmania, unfortunately Cuffay was destitute when he died in a Workhouse on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1870. Cuffay remained to his death a fighter and a revolutionary who made a significant contribution to the chartist and working class movement in Britain.



Martin Hoyle has written a useful and Informative book with many illustrations depicting the oppression of slavery and how this affected chartists and revolutionaries like William Cuffay. Hoyle's major weakness is that as a reformist academic he presents the information as a bystander and not as participants in the working class movement as Marx and Engels were. He sees the Working class as spectators and much of his illustrations depict middle class reformers like Dickens and Wilberforce. He does mention Owen and Spence but without a Marxist perspective he presents no alternative and the book remains an academic History of Chartism and Slavery.

### Notes

1. William Cuffay The Life and Times of a Chartist Leader
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. K Marx F Engels, Collected Works Vol 11
6. William Cuffay, The Life and Times...
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Socialist Fight. No 13
10. F. Engels, Anti Duhring
11. William Cuffay, The Life and Times ...
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.



## Borotba Statement

The objective necessity of a Support Center for Antifascists in Ukraine in Simferopol:

Currently, it is extremely difficult for leftist forces opposing fascism in Ukraine to work in the territory controlled by the Kiev government, in particular for the most active left organization -- Union Borotba (Struggle). In the cities of the southeast, there were mass arrests of AntiMaidan supporters, and today hundreds of people are behind bars. The Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) now searches and arrests our comrades even for simply posting on social networks (Facebook, V Kontakte), which is classified as "separatist" propaganda.

Under these conditions, cells of Union Borotba and other left-wing, anti-fascist organizations operate semi-underground. Any prominent leader or organizer immediately becomes the object of reprisals. The organization is now able to work only on the network principle -- as a network of small, autonomous groups that direct agitation, propaganda and organization, as well as protect themselves from attacks by neo-fascist combatants.

Operation of a central leadership of the organization has become impossible in the territory controlled by the Kiev authorities -- there is too great a risk of exposure for such a center and for destruction throughout the network.

This situation creates the need for a coordinating center for Borotba and other friendly organizations and leftist groups outside of Kiev government-controlled territory. An example in this respect is the work of the Russian Social-Democrats of the early twentieth century to create a center abroad to coordinate the activities of clandestine cells.

Activists involved in the anti-fascist struggle in Ukraine, who risk arrest, torture, and even death, need to know that they will not be left without shelter and livelihood if needed, so that they will be able to continue to participate in the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine from the Nazis.

Subjective conditions of the Support Center for Antifascists in Ukraine in Simferopol:

Due to repression of the Kiev authorities against Union Borotba and other left-wing and patriotic organizations, many activists were forced to leave the territory of Ukraine. Currently, about 20 members of Union Borotba

from Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev and other cities, who left Ukraine under threat of arrest or violence, are in the Republic of Crimea in Simferopol. There are also representatives of other leftist groups that fled Ukraine.

For now, emigrant anti-fascists have only their own scarce resources for rent and other necessities; they do not have jobs or other sources of income. At the same time, our comrades do not want to become refugees and receive Russian citizenship -- we want to return to Ukraine and defeat the neo-fascist regime.

Union Borotba, under the direction of Odessa Regional Council Deputy Alexei Albu and coordinator Victor Shapinov, has already started work on coordinating Borotba and other left-wing forces within Ukraine. On July 5-8, the first school for political activists was held near Simferopol, which was attended by 30 people who left Ukraine.

Tasks of the Support Center for Antifascists in Ukraine:

1. Coordination and management of the cells of Borotba and friendly leftist organizations.
2. Ensuring secure communication channels and delivery of funds for anti-fascists in Ukraine.
3. Training new political activists who came to the resistance movement in the wake of the AntiMaidan protests. Creating a cadre of powerful left-wing political forces, which will be an essential element of the political system of the new Ukraine, liberated from fascism.
4. Create a press center of left and the anti-fascist forces in Ukraine to inform the public about the fight on the territory controlled by the Kiev authorities
5. Creating promotional materials (leaflets, videos, etc.) for use by the left and anti-fascist forces within Ukraine. Maintain a constant videoblog for leftist forces of Ukraine, expandable to a full-fledged online channel.
6. Translation of materials of the antifascist resistance to foreign languages. Spreading global awareness of the fight by the anti-fascist forces of Ukraine. Dissemination of accurate information about the repression and killings of activists.
7. Maintaining a register of crimes and human rights violations by the Kiev government and its controlled ultra-right units.
8. Liaison between the leftist forces in Ukraine and worldwide.
9. Ensuring evacuation of Ukrainian comrades who risk persecution or violence where they live and work.

We, the representatives of Support Center for Antifascists in Ukraine appeal to all progressive movements and organizations as well as individual activists for help. Any, even the most modest, help would be greatly appreciated by the Ukrainian antifascist emigrants.

### Socialist Fight Greetings to Brazilian picket in solidarity with Eastern Ukraine:

The following groups organised the picket on 16 July:

Liga Comunista, Partido da Causa Operária, Corrente Comunista Revolucionária, Refundação Comunista, Espaço Cultural Latino Americano, Bloco Saci da Bixiga

Socialist Fight sends its warmest greetings to the comrades who are taking part in the picket of Ukrainian Consulate in Sao Paulo, Brazil today. This is a principled stance in defence of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist fighters in the Donbas in eastern Ukraine. We stand with you in totally rejecting the bogus "democratic revolution" that is the Kiev Euro-Maidan.

This movement is led by fascist and far right forces whose hero is Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian collaborator with Hitler's Nazis in exterminating up to 1.5 million Jews as well as Poles, Russians, communists and all leftists. We also fully support the Palestinian people under such murderous assault from US Imperialism's main ally in the Middle East, the Zionist colonial state of Israel.

The Maidan not a "contradictory" movement but fully fascist now; it overthrew an elected government and was funded by the CIA to the tune of \$5 Billion. We know this because Victoria Nuland, spokesperson for the United States Department of State, told us so and she also nominated the new Prime Minister ("Yats") whilst telling Germany and the EU where they stood -- "fuck the EU" she famously remarked and the USA did just that. From spying on everyone in Germany, bugging Merkel's personal mobile phone and now spying on the investigation into all this.

We affirm with you that the USA is the aggressor and war monger in the



Ukraine and everywhere else from Libya to Syria and Iraq today. We are confident the anti-fascist and anti-Imperialist forces in Ukraine with meet unyielding allies in Brazil and everywhere else in the semi-colonial world as well as in the homes of Imperialism itself, the USA, Britain, France, Germany and Japan to name the strongest. Such an anti-imperialist united front with defend the organised working class in Ukraine, defeat the US plans in north Africa and the Middle East and is surely the harbinger of the future International revolutionary movement which will put an end to capitalism from its heartlands in the Imperialist countries to its main victims today, the targets of murderous assaults by its proxy forces in Ukraine and Palestine:

Victory to the Donbas!  
Smash the Kiev CIA junta!  
Stop the bombing of Gaza!